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Issues in Applied Linguistics

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SPECIAL ISSUE

APPLIED LINGUISTICS FROM AN EAST ASIAN PERSPECTIVE

MAIN ARTICLES

Writing Concepts in Chinese Writing Instruction
Xia Wang

A Cross-Cultural Study of Indirectness
Hiroko Spees

Developmental Sequences in Learning Japanese: A Look at Negation
Ruth Kanagy

The Multiple Functions of *Sumimasen*
Kazumi Kimura

(articles continued on back cover)

INTERVIEWS

Sandra Thompson by Chiung-chih Huang

Sachiko Ide by Satomi Mishina

Akio Kamio by Yumiko Kawanishi

Noriko Akatsuka by Patricia Mayes

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Editorial

An East Asian Perspective

During the last fifteen years, Southern California has become a center for East Asian studies. Today, universities such as UCLA offer interdepartmental programs for East Asian linguistic studies which combine discourse/functional linguistics and work from other departments such as Applied Linguistics, East Asian Languages and Cultures, Linguistics, Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology, and Education. Such diverse interest in East Asian language, culture, and interaction inspired us to publish a special thematic issue of *IAL* addressing this growing field.

Approximately one year ago, in response to our call for papers, we received over 40 manuscripts from a variety of disciplines. The authors represented several countries including the United States, Taiwan, Australia, Japan, Hong Kong, Puerto Rico, and the United Kingdom. The rigorous review process involving a large number of reviewers, all experts in the field, led to the selection of the eight papers printed here. This issue also revives an old *IAL* tradition by including interviews with leading scholars in the field. For this issue, the linguists were all interviewed by Ph.D. students deeply interested in the scholars' work and seeking answers to specific questions or problems. These interviews provide a rare perspective on each researcher's past and current theories and the motivations and inspiration behind them. Rounding out the issue are book reviews, all on current topics in the field.

The number of participants involved in putting together this special issue, from the initial interest generated by the call for papers to the final proofreading done by an unprecedented number of *IAL* assistants, reflects the growing interest in applied linguistics from an East Asian perspective.

In September of this year, the field lost one of its founding scholars, John Hinds. In his memory, we have dedicated this special issue to him, with a memorial essay by his colleague and friend, Shoichi Iwasaki.

December 1994 — Susan Strauss and Betsy Kreuter

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This issue is dedicated to

John Hinds

1943-1994

The influence of John Hinds as a pioneer in the field of Japanese discourse linguistics has been felt throughout this country and Japan since he began his studies in the early '70s. His 1976 book *Aspects of Japanese Discourse Structure* was released at a time when interest in Japanese grammar and structure had just blossomed, thanks to the many critical publications in the field, such as Kuno's (1973) *Structure of Japanese* and Shibatani's (1976) *Japanese Generative Grammar*.

John's main area of interest was always discourse. Exploring areas that no one had previously (especially with respect to the Japanese language), he was probably the only linguist in the '70s who rigorously used actual Japanese discourse data as a means to examine Japanese grammar. He insisted that many, if not most, grammatical phenomena could not be adequately described nor analyzed by looking only at isolated sentences, and demonstrated this insight in his 1976 book, as well as in his two subsequent books, *Anaphora in Discourse* (1978) and *Ellipsis in Japanese* (1982). The contributions in this issue by Hayashi and Niimura, Kanagy, Kimura, and Ohta may be considered as developments from the broad area of Japanese discourse analysis that John opened up for us.

Never feeling satisfied that he had analyzed enough nor explained enough, John was always too energetic to stop at any one project. He kept exploring new areas in linguistic research, and also became a pioneer in the area of non-verbal communication. He actively collected conversational data on video tape as early as 1975-1979 when he was teaching at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, utilizing a technique which took the general field of discourse analysis a good number of years more to establish as a critical analytical tool. John's belief was that communication is achieved holistically, and that audio tapes could only capture a small fraction of the total interactive situation. He often carried video cameras and audio equipment to Japan to try and capture a variety of conversational and interactive settings.

John's interest in language typology and conversational interaction extends far beyond Japanese settings. He conducted research projects in Korea in 1976 and in Thailand in 1988-89, and he was dedicated to the study of

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cross-cultural communication. John would have greatly enjoyed reading the papers in this issue by Minami and Spees.

John did not limit his focus to only spoken data and also was very much interested in comparative rhetoric. He is well known to applied linguists and educators in this field, and two of the articles in the present issue (i.e., Yokota and Wang) cite his 1987 article "Writer versus Reader Responsibility," which demonstrates John's insightfulness in the analysis of discourse from a broader perspective.

John was also author of the descriptive grammar book *Japanese*, which is referred to in the review section of this issue (Kawanishi) as a partial basis for comparison to the volume *Korean*, by Ho-min Sohn.

The contribution that John made in the fields of discourse, conversation, language typology, rhetoric, and cross-cultural communication is too great to summarize. I hope, however, that he will always be remembered as a great scholar and pioneer, who provided us with so many areas to explore and who touched the lives of so many of us, sharing with us his joy of studying languages, people, and communication.

On a more personal level, he was my best friend. He taught me as much about friendship as he did about language. I hope that one day, through my own study and that of my students, I will be able to repay the enormous debt that I have to him.

Shoichi Iwasaki

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Writing Concepts in Chinese Writing Instruction

Xia Wang
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Since Kaplan hypothesized English writing as direct and Oriental writing as circular in 1966, much research has been done in contrastive rhetoric. However, few studies have compared English writing and Asian writing in its original text or compared rhetoric across cultures. In addition, what causes Asian students to write differently from English speakers remains an arguable issue. In response to this debate, the researcher focuses on how Chinese writing instruction can cause negative interference for Chinese ESL students' writing in English. One representative work in Chinese literary criticism and four texts in Chinese rhetoric are analyzed to determine how Chinese and English writing utilize different rhetorical forms even though they may share some common elements.

Specifically, this study shows that in Chinese writing the main idea can be more general, as a theme, or specific, as a thesis statement, and can come at the beginning or the end of a paper, although the end is preferred by most accomplished writers. In addition, a Chinese writer is expected to build the overall organization on word and sentence level structures and to use various indirect techniques to arouse the reader's interest in the aesthetics of a piece of writing. The writer does not have to state everything explicitly. Rather, the reader needs to share the writer's responsibility in creating a text by incorporating his or her own interpretation into the writing in Chinese rhetoric.

INTRODUCTION

A native speaker of English can easily judge if second language learners have an accent when they speak English; however, a native speaker can not so easily determine whether the English expository writing of non-native speakers also has an accent due to the rhetorical influence of their native language. ESL students who write well in their first language are not necessarily equally talented at expressing themselves in written English. Occasionally, even when an excellent piece of writing is translated literally from another language into English, native English readers may not appreciate its "confusing" ideas. Some scholars wonder if this happens because "there is a decided 'English' way

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of handling a topic, of putting ideas together, and of connecting sentences" (Raimes, 1983, p. 115). Some scholars maintain that ESL expository writing reflects native rhetoric which includes different concepts and thought patterns from those of English.

In this paper, the researcher attempts to discover the rhetorical influence that Chinese speaking students transfer from their L1 expository writing instruction to their writing in English. The paper examines basic Chinese writing concepts, both from traditional literary criticism and from today's writing textbooks that prepare high school students to go to universities, with the purpose of helping English teachers understand the basis of the different rhetorical style found in Chinese students' English compositions. This investigation begins with a review of the literature on contrastive rhetoric with a focus on English and Chinese writing. It then provides a detailed analysis of Chinese rhetoric textbooks. This analysis provides a well-rounded view of Chinese rhetoric and dismisses the stereotype that Chinese rhetoric only follows an indirect pattern. At the same time, however, the analysis shows that a strong preference for a more indirect than direct style of writing is an important part of Chinese rhetoric.

CONTRASTIVE RHETORIC: ENGLISH AND CHINESE

Contrastive rhetoric has had a history of almost thirty years since Kaplan's "Cultural Thought Patterns in Intercultural Education" was first published in 1966. By definition, rhetoric is "the method of organizing syntactic units into larger patterns" (Kaplan, 1967, p. 15), and contrastive rhetoric "implies a contrast between languages and cultures" (Kaplan, 1988, p. 285). Kaplan (1966) hypothesizes that people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds organize discourse differently, and this difference usually reflects their native culture and language. Hudleson (1989) synthesizes Kaplan's definitions by stating that contrastive rhetoric examines the influence of a writer's first language on the organization of his or her writing in a second language.

Regarding writing as a basically social, rather than personal activity concerned with acceptable writing conventions and the writer's purpose of communicating with an unknown audience, Kaplan (1983) explored cross-linguistic rhetorical schema. In his original research, he examined some six hundred English essays written by ESL students and generalized the organization of writing from five cultures into his famous cultural thought patterns as shown in Figure 1 (1966, p. 10).

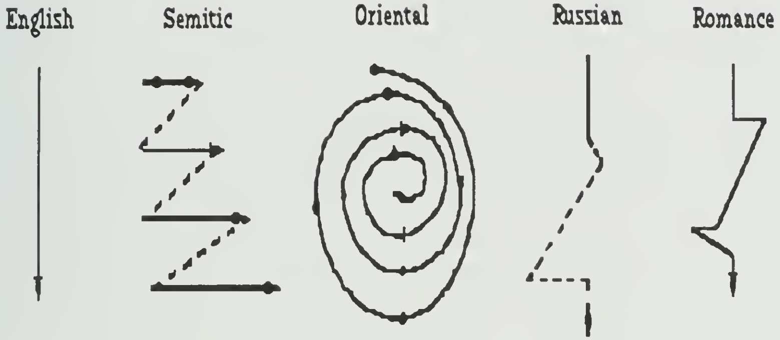

Figure 1. Kaplan's Proposed Cultural Thought Patterns (1966)

This paper is concerned with only two of these patterns: the English and the "Oriental." As shown in Figure 1, the English pattern is a straight line, illustrating the observation that English expository writing follows a direct and linear organization. Normally beginning with a topic sentence, a paragraph is then supported and explained by examples and details. After the main idea is fully developed, a conclusion is drawn to finish the text. Overall, all ideas relate to the theme, making each paragraph a tight coherent unit. In contrast, the indirect Oriental pattern is a spiral circling around a point, with no statement touching on the topic at the beginning of the text. In Kaplan's words:

> The circle or gyre turns around the subject and shows it from a variety of tangential views, but the subject is never looked at directly. Things are developed in terms of what they are not, rather than in terms of what they are (1966, p. 7).

Therefore, in order to understand the written context, readers have to "read between the lines" and infer meaning from the writing.

Later, Kaplan (1987) revises his analysis from a deterministic to a weaker version, suggesting that in any written language, all the different rhetorical modes illustrated are possible. However, the various rhetorical forms in a given culture never follow a parallel distribution; each culture prefers one writing pattern to another due to the influence of sociolinguistic and other cultural constraints.

Specifically, scholars have argued that English and Chinese writing show different preferences of writing forms based upon the level of directness.

Matalene (1985) points out that English written texts, especially argumentative tests, are characterized by cohesion, coherence, and explicit unity because writers need to make their argument "logical" (p. 790). On the other hand, Chinese rhetoric uses analogy and literary allusions in fixed forms, as it is greatly influenced by Chinese culture, education, literary tradition, and the authority of the past.

English and Chinese rhetoric also have contrasting philosophical foundations. Jensen (1988) looks at the rhetorical heritage of the two cultures and points out that historically Western rhetoric honors approaching or finding the truth, whereas Eastern rhetoric values keeping harmony within the society. Western rhetoric tends to express ideas logically, use direct organization, and choose a simple style in communicating with the audience. In contrast, Eastern rhetoric tries to keep silence and avoids breaking the rules or offending the audience; therefore, subtlety, analogy, and metaphor are welcomed to hide the writer's intuitive insights. Jensen's comparison between Western and Eastern rhetoric in a sense affirms the dominance of "Aristotelian (based on syllogistic reasoning) and Galilean (based on hierarchical taxonomies)" traditions in Western writing education (Kaplan, 1988, p. 290). With these differences in rhetoric, it is no wonder that some Asian students comment that English people write with a "cool head," since all their ideas are stated in words, while Asians write with emotion, as readers need to feel or guess the ideas from the writing in order to appreciate it.

Chinese Rhetoric

In contrastive rhetoric, research on Chinese rhetoric has focused on three indirect forms: *bagu*, the four-part pattern, and the spiral pattern identified by Kaplan. The *bagu* ('Eight-Legged Essay') form has the following eight parts: breaking open, accepting the title, embarking, introductory corollary, first middle leg, second middle leg, first final leg, and tying the knot (Kaplan, 1972, p. 49). Kaplan insists that although five centuries have passed since the development of the *bagu* form, it still greatly influences today's educated Chinese. Coe and Hu (1989) explain that this pattern occurs not only in rhetorical style but also in the traditional Chinese way of thinking in which repetition is widely used to strengthen or prove the importance of an author's point. As an American teacher in China, Matalene (1985) also claims that Chinese students now apply a new *bagu* form to their English writing. Her students' English writing normally begins with a narrative description of the topic, then the body paragraphs try to give the audience a deep impression of the topic by a "topic, restriction, illustration" pattern. However, the argument is basically supported by quoting authoritative sources, and the connection between sentences is loose.

Two other specific indirect Chinese writing patterns are discussed by Gu (1992) in her study of Chinese rhetoric. One is the *qi-cheng-zhuan-he* pattern or 'four-part' pattern, in which *qi* means the beginning section of an essay, *cheng* the following, *zhuan* the turning, and *he* the closing. This pattern does not have a thesis statement relating to the topic at the beginning of the text. Instead, the theme may occur in any paragraph depending on the author's needs. Still used in today's Chinese writing instruction as a beginning, middle, closing model with beginning covering *qi*, middle covering *cheng* and *zhuan*, and closing covering *he*, the looseness of this pattern contrasts with the English hierarchical pattern that is controlled by a main idea and supported specifically by details. The other pattern is known as "drawing the eyes of the dragon" (Gu, 1992), in which after the writer skirts a topic in several paragraphs, the main idea is finally stated at the end of the essay. This writing style reminds one of a painter who spends much time drawing a dragon, but saves the most important step, adding the eyes to make it alive, for last.

At the same time, other scholars have argued that Chinese rhetoric is similar to rhetoric in the U.S. Hinds (1987) considers the indirectness of Chinese writing from another viewpoint. He argues that classical Chinese might remain reader-responsible, that is, readers will need to draw meaning from the writing, but that modern writing in Chinese has become writer-responsible, as in English, and writers are now responsible for clarifying their ideas and viewpoints. Taylor and Chen (1991) confirm as well that not all Chinese writing is digressive. In Chinese scientific writing, the writer's purpose is clearly stated and no digressive ideas appear in the introductory paragraphs. Mohan and Lo (1985) choose examples from classical and modern Chinese writing to show that both deductive and inductive direct persuasive forms exist in Chinese rhetoric. They claim that, especially nowadays, direct writing is preferred to indirect writing in Chinese writing instruction. Many textbooks published in Hong Kong actually teach Chinese students in the same way that English writing textbooks do.

However, it is important to know that in the past quarter of a century most of the research in contrastive rhetoric has been based on the comparison of rhetorical structures between English compositions written by native and non-native English speakers. Kaplan compared native English rhetoric texts to the English essays of ESL students. In addition, research on native language samples of languages such as Chinese has relied on a very limited number of texts that may or may not be representative. In a sense, most research has not actually contrasted rhetorical patterns between two different languages. Although efforts have been made by researchers to discover various factors that make Chinese students' writing in English consistently distinct from that of native speakers, few studies have aimed at studying the process of learning to write in Chinese or how Chinese writing theories may interfere with Chinese students' writing in English and make them reluctant to accept new English writing theories. The following analysis attempts to remedy this situation. It focuses on five Chinese writing textbooks and examines the process of teaching rhetoric in Chinese. This analysis also provides a direct comparison to that same process in English, as manifest in American rhetoric texts.

CHINESE WRITING INSTRUCTION

For this analysis, the following five Chinese writing texts were chosen: (1) Li, Y.G. (1976) *Zuowen Jiqiao Yu Fanli* (*Writing Techniques and Examples*); (2) Gu, Z. B. (1943) *Guowen Zuofa* (*Methods of Writing Chinese Composition, vol. 1*); (3) Yu, S. M. (1955) *Zhongxuesheng Xue Yuwen* (*Language Study for Middle School Students*); (4) Yang, X. A., Li, Y. Y., and Wen, D. K. (1958) *Xiandai Hanyu (Modern Chinese, vol. 4)* ; and (5) Shih, V. Y. (trans.) (1983) *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons.*[1] These texts share several factors regarding the aesthetics and rhetorical features of a model Chinese essay. As will be discussed in the following four sections, these factors, first, relate to the skillful presentation of the theme of a paper, second, concern the techniques of writing a good introduction and conclusion, third, cover the proper rhetorical order in writing an essay, and fourth, reveal an emphasis on reader, rather than writer, responsibility.

Theme in Chinese Writing Instruction

In contrast to its Western counterpart, the thesis statement in English writing, the theme of a Chinese paper only provides a clue to the writer's ideas. A Chinese theme, called *zhuti* ('main theme') or *zhuyi* ('main idea') in Chinese (Li, 1976, p. 19), sets the boundary of the writing content or indicates the major aspect which the paper will focus on (Gu, 1943, p. 193). Defined by Yang, Li, and Wen (1958), a theme in Chinese also directly or indirectly shows the writer's attitudes toward a subject and gives an outline of the paper. It is well accepted that one paper should only have one main idea which guides the content of the entire paper and makes it coherent and focused (Li, 1976).

Three typical methods of writing the main idea are given by Li (1976) in *Zuowen Jiqiao Yu Fanli.* One method is to repeat the title. For example, if the title is "The importance of studying Chinese," no explanation is needed to make this idea clear. The writer can use the title as the main idea or repeat it in a main idea sentence and develop all further ideas relating to this sentence. Another method to state the main idea is to choose one side of the chosen topic. For instance, if the topic is "should students take part in social activities or not?", the writer can reword the title in a sentence (e.g., "students should take part in social activities" or "students should not take part in social activities") and use this expression of his/her choice as the theme. A third way a writer may state the main idea is by focusing on one aspect of the complex topic. As an example, if the topic is "reading," the writer should narrow it down to "reading methods," "the importance of reading," or "the purpose of reading," or something relating to the title before deciding on the main idea of the paper. This more specific focus can be expressed in words or be kept in the writer's mind, but the writer is not required to state specifically what will be covered.

This main idea in Chinese writing has a similar function as that of the thesis statement in English because it controls and directs the writer's expression of ideas. However, analyzing the methods of writing a theme, the researcher finds that Chinese writers have their own standards of evaluating a well-written theme. In their mind, a theme is the soul of a paper and can be visible or invisible. Its definition differs from its English counterpart in that a Chinese "thesis statement" usually indicates a general aspect instead of stating a topic and making a specific assertion. There are other differences between writing a theme in English and Chinese as well.

First, a Chinese theme is used more flexibly than an English theme. Although Li (1976) describes the above three methods of writing a theme, he does not specify a proper position for stating it. Gu's (1943) *Guowen Zuofa* and Yu's (1955) *Zhongxuesheng Xue Yuwen* also mention the importance of using a theme to direct the content of a paper, but their shared opinion is that the most important thing is to have a main idea and to write the paper according to that idea. Where to put the main idea, if it occurs in written form at all, should be decided by the writer. In contrast, an English thesis statement is normally preferred at the end of the introduction of an essay and gives a clear outline of the paper.

Second, the themes in Li's (1976) examples are expressed implicitly rather than explicitly. A Chinese theme usually originates from the title or slightly revises a broad title. It only provides the reader with a vague clue and lacks the specificity of the statement of opinion or the statement of intent of an English thesis statement. When closely studied, a Chinese theme is not equivalent to an English thesis statement, which gives the reader a subject together with a comment on that subject. In a sense, a Chinese theme in addition to a general statement about the theme is equivalent to an English theme. In the following analysis of the writer's and reader's interaction in appreciating the content of a paper, we will also find that the vague theme in Chinese writing is important to arouse the reader's interest in reading a paper and is more highly valued than an abruptly expressed sentence such as an English thesis statement.

Third, Chinese writing holds the philosophy that the theme of a paper has to be examined comprehensively, or from multiple perspectives. It is unnecessary to narrow one's focus to explore one point in depth. Instead, it is important to broadly discuss the theme or to divide the topic and discuss all of its aspects to ensure that every part has been exposed to the reader. Yang, Li, and Wen's (1958) understanding of the theme in *Xiandai Hanyu* reflects this point of view. According to this textbook, the theme of an article should center on a main point, but include several possible perspectives. When people talk, they try to clarify their points by discussing them from different points of view, and the same is true for writing. Although some aspects are more important than others, after the important aspects have been explained, the article is considered complete.

Li's book also stresses the idea that the main theme cannot function well without the support of other smaller details. These details are relevant to the main idea because they have a strong inner relation. In other words, the focus on one main idea in Chinese writing does not exclude the existence of other subordinate ideas. Li teaches that Chinese writing should be made comprehensive by incorporating the main idea with subordinate ideas:

> Besides the main idea, there should be subordinate ideas that function as its background and help clarify or explain the main idea, making the paper a fully developed system. Without subordinate ideas, the main idea cannot stand out and catch the reader's attention; therefore, a topic should be explained or described either from its "front and back" or "opposite and side." Only after such description or explanation is done in a proper order can the main theme be strengthened. Otherwise, the main idea will lose its brightness (translation, p. 20).

A Chinese paper needs a central aspect as well as subordinate aspects to examine the subject from different angles: front, back, and side. Chinese subthemes not only develop the main theme and make it comprehensive but also clarify the theme step by step and make it look comparatively important. Without the subthemes, writing does not communicate the magnificence of the main theme; the main theme cannot stand on its own. It needs to be placed against its background, and the development of subordinate themes is decisive in deepening the main theme. However, to an American teacher, ESL students' written materials which elaborate on subthemes are usually marked as distracting or irrelevant to the development of a paper since they lead readers in a new direction. If ESL teachers give students an opportunity to explain and clarify the inner relation between the main theme and the subthemes, students may learn to present their ideas satisfactorily to meet English readers' needs. ESL teachers could also try to have the student narrow the theme to the subtheme level and then write the paper.

How to Write a Good Introduction and Conclusion

When covering the development of specific paragraphs (in particular, the introduction and the conclusion), Chinese writing instruction discusses both direct and indirect writing methods. Unexpectedly, the discussions on the direct method or *kan men jian shan*, (open the door to see the mountain) and the indirect method, *mai ti fa* (placing the soldiers in ambush) show that Chinese and English writers have a different interpretation of direct and indirect writing. Chinese writing regards touching on the topic as direct, but the same writing may be interpreted as indirect by Westerners because of the subtle or vague expressions used in Chinese. On the other hand, Chinese writing favors the indirect suggestion of ideas, while without the same background knowledge, English readers may feel this indirectness equals obscure language.

Yang, Li, and Wen (1958) recommend the method termed *kan men jian shan* (open the door to see the mountain) for a good introduction. This metaphorical statement of method implies that the introduction should touch on the theme, or "open the door." Specifically, they categorize writing methods from Ji's *Writing Methods* and state that such an introduction can "create an environment, raise a question, determine the scope of the writing content, provide the sources of written materials, or explain the topic" (p.298). Summarizing Tan's methods from *Basic Steps of Writing*, Yang, Li, and Wen suggest the following issues to be considered in writing the introduction to an essay: "giving the topic, deciding on writing materials, preparing to start the content, indicating important points, or arranging the environment and the appearance of characters" (p. 298).

The directness of the "open the door to see the mountain" method is not only shown by the above methods but also by a detailed example chosen from *Junior High School Chinese Textbook, vol. V* in Yang, Li, and Wen's (1958) text, "In Memory of Bathune." Its introductory paragraph was thought of as direct because "the first sentence introduces who Bathune is, the second sentence introduces his internationalist and communist spirit, and the third sentence calls for every party member to learn this kind of spirit. All sentences relate to the theme" (Yang, Li, & Wen, p. 299). This direct writing technique is also presented as *po ti fa* in Li's writing methods (1976) in which the introduction touches on the topic and explains it later in body paragraphs. Unfortunately, Li does not discuss this method in detail, nor does he give examples for our analysis.

Chinese writing examples and explanations of the 'open the door to see the mountain' method demonstrate that the Chinese definition of direct writing differs from its English counterpart. In Chinese writing, after the theme has been touched on either implicitly or explicitly in the first paragraph, the door is opened to the reader. Whether the reader has "seen the mountain" or not, the writer has been direct in exposing his or her intentions. Yang, Li, and Wen also provide some interesting insights into their understanding of the Chinese direct writing technique by adding that direct ideas can be presented indirectly. They state that "touching on the main theme at the beginning" does not mean that the author has to show the main theme directly. This means only that the author cannot say anything unrelated to the theme (p. 299). In other words, any indication of the theme, not necessarily an explicit statement, can belong to the direct Chinese writing category.

Among Yang, Li, and Wen's summaries and illustrations of different direct writing methods, only the "explaining the topic" and the "giving the topic" methods appear similar to the direct English method of writing an introduction, although how the topic is explained or given is never explicitly addressed. The rest of the methods simply relate to the point instead of coming straight to it. The introduction to "In Memory of Bathune" also demonstrates that this so-called directness is limited in Chinese writing. To an English reader, it is assumed that the point in a direct paragraph is clear enough that the reader does not have to guess it. This clarity is not the case for this Chinese paragraph. In the paragraph, the main idea, which is that memorizing Bathune will help party members learn the internationalist and communist spirit, will not come out unless readers make logical inferences from understanding all three statements as a whole. Although each sentence relates to the theme somehow, the writer's ideas in the following paragraphs remain at a suggestive stage, and they are hard for readers to predict.

In short, touching on the main theme in the introduction in Chinese writing looks similar to the introduction and thesis statement at the beginning of an English essay at first sight. However, an analysis of Chinese rhetoric textbooks reveals that the Chinese method of mentioning the theme is more general and indirect than giving the thesis statement in English. The 'open the door to see the mountain' method is defined by many Chinese writers as direct, but very often this directness becomes indirectness in English because the indication of the theme still leaves readers wondering about the real focus of a paper. In addition, touching on the theme in the 'open the door to see the mountain' method can be done implicitly rather than explicitly, which also makes it seem indirect from an English reader's perspective.

Alongside the Chinese direct method of 'open the door to see the mountain,' an indirect writing technique, 'placing soldiers in ambush,' is highly valued in Chinese writing instruction. Skillful generals who are planning in a war normally observe the situation first and do not expose their real force until soldiers are needed for fighting. Similarly, an experienced Chinese writer knows the best time to reveal the main point of the paper. Li (1976) explains that in this writing method, the writer circles around the topic and chooses a relaxed tone to influence the reader's mood before actually writing about it at the proper time. For narrative writing in particular, this technique is more skillful than touching on the theme directly and explicitly because it helps arouse readers' interest by piquing their curiosity.

This indirect writing method is also preferred for writing a conclusion. Chinese writing has the philosophy that "words have an end, but meaning does not." Especially for a narrative essay, the conclusion should not finish everything. It is better to be suggestive and to leave some room for readers to experience and enjoy what is written, thereby creating "overtones" (Li, 1976, p. 32). When Yang, Li, and Wen (1958) point out that the conclusion is intended to help readers further understand the content, deepen readers' impression, and strengthen the force of the composition, their suggestion of reaching this goal is also that the conclusion should be "concise, suggestive, and implicit; in other words, it should stop suddenly" (p. 299). They especially appreciate the conclusion of a persuasive article named "Lun Leifengta De Daota" (On the

Falling Down of Leifengta Tower) in which only one Chinese word *huogai!* ('serves him right!') is used to end the article. In their words, a special force is added to the paper by this short and suggestive conclusion which expresses the writer's strong anger toward the evil character in the story. However, it is unimaginable for English teachers to use a one-word conclusion as a model to show the force of being indicative and concise. English writing advocates conciseness in meaning, but not in length. The writer is required either to summarize the main points or give a sense of ending in a conclusion, thus such conciseness and indication as found in a Chinese conclusion will very likely appear illogical and make English readers feel lost.

Rhetorical Order in Chinese Writing Instruction

In this analysis, the researcher finds that the Chinese rhetorical order contrasts with that of English due to its emphasis on sentence-level structures. Chinese writing respects the rhetorical order that moves from lower to higher discourse levels or moves from smaller to larger elements. Word and sentence level structures are regarded as the basis of the whole organization of a composition. This point of view is shown by the definition of composition in texts as well as the discussions and suggestions for the revision process.

Defined by Yu (1955), a composition is “a group of well organized words that have a beginning and an end” (p. 130). A word is the smallest factor that helps the writer make up a composition, but it has the greatest importance in deciding the writer’s expressions. According to Yu, for the same idea expressed in a sentence, the change of the subject could shift the writer’s focus from person to place, time, or process. He also claims that with the same ideas, skillful writers can focus on different aspects when they structure the first sentence of the paper differently according to their purposes (p. 150).

In revising papers, Chinese writers pay much attention to word choices and sentence level structures as well. Usually, the overall rhetorical structure is not examined until the writer has made sure that the words and sentences are well written. For instance, Shih states in *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* that:

> The brilliance of a literary piece depends on the faultlessness of each paragraph; the clarity of each paragraph depends on the flawlessness of each sentence; and the purity of each sentence depends on a happy choice of words. For when the stem stands up, the branches naturally follow (Shih, 1983, p. 361).

Shih also suggests that the writer judge the organization of a paper from sentence formation. “If there is any sentence that can be deleted, we know the writing is loose; and when not a word can be moved, we know the writing is well-knit” (Shih, 1983, p. 349).

In today's writing instruction, Li (1976) shares Shih's viewpoint and paraphrases this position as a guide for writing good papers: When writing is evaluated or examined, it is proper for writers to check various levels, from individual sentences to the discourse structure. The same strategy is given by Yu (1955) in his suggestions for students' revision of their papers:

> Step 1. Check the title to see if it has covered the main idea of the paper.
> Step 2. Check sentence level grammatical problems.
> Step 3. Is there a sentence that can be deleted or added? Is there a paragraph that has irrelevant ideas?
> Step 4. Are there transitional problems between sentences and paragraphs?
> Step 5. Check the organization of the whole paper. Does it follow a proper order?
> Step 6. Are the ideas in the paper objective?
> Step 7. Have the ideas been thoroughly developed?
> Step 8. Are there any punctuation and spelling errors?
> (translation, p. 154)

These eight steps maintain the following order: topic, sentence, coherence, transition, discourse, viewpoint, idea development, and mechanics. In other words, in Chinese writing theory, the entire organization should not be examined until each paragraph has been examined. And, defined as an expanded sentence in Chinese writing, the paragraph should not be examined until each sentence expresses the ideas well and all are related nicely to one another. This Chinese revision process is almost opposite to that of an experienced English writer which starts from examining the overall organization of the paper, moving slowly to the structure of each paragraph, and later ending with sentence level, word choice, and mechanical problems.

Thus, according to both Liu and Li, word and sentence level structures in Chinese writing are the most important frame which helps the writer build the higher level structure of a paper. After words and sentences are polished, the whole essay will be improved consequently and naturally. In other words, the word and sentence level structures should be built solidly enough to hold the higher level structures. In response to this writing philosophy, Chinese writing instruction emphasizes word choice and sentence formation as fundamentally effective practice in training students to write good papers. In contrast, English writing instruction emphasizes the higher level discourse structure and maintains the opinion that only after a good frame has been properly and strongly set up can those lower level elements belonging to it be added to support and strengthen the frame. Therefore, in writing an English paper, it is usually not meaningful to examine those details relating to weak structure because sooner or later when the old frame is rebuilt, new details will be needed and irrelevant ideas will be deleted. In short, English writing instruction does not share the viewpoint with Chinese instruction that a paper will be naturally improved after its sentences have been improved.

WRITER AND READER RESPONSIBILITY

Compared to English readers, Chinese readers are not only responsible for reading essays but also for feeling and interpreting them to understand the deeper meanings and appreciate the artistic beauty. English writing requires the writer to make the ideas clear while Chinese writing prefers the writer to make the ideas impressive, lively, and even suggestive.

From the former discussions on how to write a good introduction and conclusion, we have found that the need to make an idea interesting and impressive influences Chinese writers when they plan the organization of a paper. Normally, the introduction is considered the first and most important step in preventing the reader from deciding not to read the rest of the paper after "tasting" one paragraph. Yang, Li, and Wen (1958) clarify that the purpose of writing an introduction is to introduce the content of an article, stimulate the reader's interest, and catch the reader's attention. And among these three, the first one satisfies the reader's need to get information and prevents the reader from losing interest in continuing reading the paper.

From another perspective, the intention to make ideas impressive leads the Chinese writer to place the topic sentence of a paragraph or the thesis statement of a paper in a different position than an English writer would. Li (1976) indicates that because the beginning and the end of a paragraph catch readers' attention more effectively than other positions, it is better for the writer to place the important ideas in either one of these positions. The same principle applies to placing the main idea or thesis statement in a paper if they are explicitly stated. This is why the introduction and the conclusion are always major units covered by Chinese writing instruction. As the ending position catches people's attention in Chinese writing in the same way as the beginning position does in English writing, Chinese students do not think it is improper to delay their English thesis statements to the end of their essays, whereas English teachers think Chinese students' writing is indirect because the papers do not state the main point at the beginning. It is likely that once the important positions are redefined in English writing instruction, Chinese students may face fewer problems in finding a suitable place for their thesis statements or topic sentences when writing for English speaking readers.

In addition to making their writing impressive, Chinese writers have another goal of making the writing visually proper, which may also affect Chinese students' organization of their ideas in an English paper. In comparison with English writing, Chinese writing requires that a good visual impression be given by the writer, mainly due to the Chinese calligraphic language system. In addition, Chinese writing requires that forms agree with ideas. The length of a paragraph is discussed as an influential factor which can make the writing either lively or monotonous. Usually the length of a paragraph should be decided by the length of the paper (Li, 1976, p. 34). For example, Li (1976) mentions that short papers need short paragraphs, which easily turn from one point to another and avoid creating a long monotonous chunk due to the change of visual forms. On the other hand, long paragraphs match long essays since they can express ideas thoroughly and avoid breaking a long paper into many smaller pieces, which may weaken the force of a long paper.

However, in English writing, idea development is more important than visual effects in deciding on the length of a paragraph. In a long Chinese paper, in order to match paragraph length with paper length, the writer is allowed to place more than one idea in that paragraph in a synthesized form. But in an English essay, whether long or short, only one idea is normally expected in one paragraph. A long English essay can have short paragraphs separating different ideas without fear of losing its balance. After one main idea is fully developed, it is normal for the writer to start a new paragraph. So it is important for Chinese students to change their concept that long paragraphs are needed for long papers and a long paragraph can include several different ideas. It is hypothesized by the researcher that English teachers can choose paragraphs from short Chinese persuasive essays as models to teach Chinese ESL students that one paragraph should focus on only one idea when they write in English.

Another point for analysis of these Chinese rhetoric texts concerns why Chinese students are often stereotyped by English teachers as writing indirectly and implicitly. It is interesting to see how the same writing characteristic that confuses English readers is highly valued in Chinese writing instruction. It is clearly stated by Shih that "to be too straightforward will most certainly involve many mistakes, and yet to be too consistently tentative will also do harm to the composition" (Shih, 1983, p. 440). In a sense, "to be too straightforward" and "to be too vague" are the same weak point in writing an essay. Writers should choose a middle stage between directness and indirectness. For example, they can mention the idea to a certain extent and motivate the reader to think of the rest of it. If writers are too straightforward, they will lose their freedom in explaining or interpreting their ideas from different angles and for different purposes; therefore, they are more likely to make mistakes because of their definite statements. On the other hand, those writers who hide some of their ideas are similar to painters who shade the trees in water-painting, thus making the pictures more beautiful.

In today's writing instruction, Li (1976) gives us a detailed description of what he thinks of the indirect writing technique:

> Writing needs to be concise and to use parts to represent the whole in the same way as painting or taking pictures. Water

> painting usually only focuses on the most important part of a picture since it could represent all scenery. If everything is painted, not only more time is taken, the picture will also not be as successful as showing only part of the scenery. The same thing is true for writing. After the most important and brilliant part is written, the rest of the content should give readers more freedom in imagining, in finishing, and in thinking about the topic. Since these readers think of the rest of the author's ideas in the same way as that has been implied by the paper, they will polish the unwritten parts, therefore contributing to the expression of the topic when they read (translation, p. 28).

In short, Chinese writers are responsible for making readers interested in reading papers, but they are not responsible for ensuring that readers get an exact idea about the topic. In a sense, Chinese writers are successful if they are able to attract their readers to their writing and encourage them to think about their theme.

Consequently, Chinese readers have more responsibility than English readers in feeling and interpreting the writer's ideas in order to appreciate a piece of writing. Chinese readers' roles are to comprehend, finish, and even polish the writer's ideas when they read. They are expected to infer from part of the written information to get a deeper sense of unexpressed ideas. They are also expected to imagine and interact with the writing by activating their own understanding and background knowledge. Logic is not enough for Chinese readers to appreciate the beauty of Chinese essays. They need to feel the aesthetic in their reading because Chinese rhetoric favors

> ...simplicity in conveying thought, linguistic richness in embodying emotions, logical clarity in establishing fundamental principles, and allegorical and figurative speech as a means of suggestive demonstration. (Shih, 1983, p. xxxi).

This description seems contradictory at first sight, since it includes opposites, such as simplicity and richness, logical clarity and suggestive demonstration. However, to the students who have a background in Chinese culture and writing, the above statement makes perfect sense. This concept of "simplicity in conveying thought" differs from the concept of logical conciseness emphasized in English writing. It focuses on asking the writer to use fewer words to express the same ideas; therefore, at least some of the writer's ideas have to be written suggestively. This process of indication together with other language processes is necessary to add color to a paper. And once the very basic structure of the paper has been set up, figurative language also reflects the writer's control of his or her expressions, as well as writing techniques.

According to *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, Chinese readers also need to "feel" the writing because the harmony between external nature and the writer's internal feelings as intertwined in a literary work is highly valued. Famous ancient writers are admired because of their ability to build forms on emotions (Shih, 1983). Only in unifying the internal and external aspects can rhetoric bring "physical things through the sense to apprehension" (Shih, 1983, p. xliii). In this way, readers should cultivate their ability to feel or sense the writer's internal unwritten ideas. Being able to read the writer's mind is an effective way for the reader to appreciate the deep meanings or the beauty of a literary work. In a sense, the written information in Chinese texts is not active until the reader takes an active role in interacting with the writer. What is written functions like a bridge between the reader and the writer. Writers are responsible for building a solid bridge and readers are responsible for going across it.

Concerning Chinese students' English writing, some concepts in the text marked by English teachers as vague or irrelevant could possibly be organized according to "an underlying unifying principle which makes factors belong to different perspectives harmonious" (Shih, 1983, p. 437). This principle can only be discovered when the reader explores with great effort the surface meanings expressed in the written forms. Usually, even a "badly" organized ESL student's paper viewed from the perspective of English rhetorical principles can make good sense once it is explained by that student. Sometimes, English teachers need to be patient in giving ESL students a chance to share their ideas with people from a different rhetorical background. In sum, feelings together with ideas give a Chinese essay its soul (Shih, 1983) and allow it to stand up and be powerful. Therefore, feelings embodied in a Chinese student's English writing, which may distract English teachers' understanding of the paper, should not be totally denied but may need to be explained more fully to bridge the cultural gap in the standards used to appreciate good writing.

CONCLUSION

In sum, Chinese rhetoric includes forms that are similar to English expository rhetoric, but preferences in Chinese writing are for rhetorical forms that are less popular in English. First, a Chinese theme is preferably spread out and examined from different perspectives, while an English topic is ideally focused on one perspective and presented in more detail in a thesis statement. Second, the thesis statement can appear in the introduction or conclusion in Chinese and in English, but English writers tend to prefer it in the introduction and Chinese writers in the conclusion. Third, both Chinese and English writing texts discuss rhetorical order in writing, but the Chinese texts take words and sentences as the starting point while English texts stress organization as the main frame. Fourth, Chinese rhetoric holds the opinion that the writer's task is to make the writing interesting and the reader's task is to interpret the ideas and feel the art of writing. In contrast, English rhetoric regards ideas and logic as most important, and the writers are expected to make everything clear in order to avoid the reader's misinterpretation of the writer's ideas. Therefore, ESL teachers need to tell their Chinese students that they understand and appreciate these differences but that an English language readership will understand their ideas better if: the thesis statement is in the introduction, the English rhetorical order is followed in organizing ideas and revising papers, and writers take more responsibility in making ideas explicit and specific, as well as interesting.

Therefore, even though this study establishes that Chinese rhetoric has both direct and indirect styles or patterns, it shows that the dominant writing styles of Chinese do differ from English expository rhetoric. ESL students may transfer not only their first language sentence structures but also the writing instruction they get in their first language. Together with their former writing instruction, ESL students usually bring with them to their new English world their cultural values and specific standards that are widely used to evaluate a piece of writing. Specifically, Chinese writers think that making readers interested in reading their papers is the most important element in ensuring successful writing. Another interesting and important result of this study is that although English and Chinese writing share some common terms in discussing writing concepts such as directness and indirectness, they actually have different definitions of those basic concepts; therefore, people in the field of rhetoric also need to be careful when using and comparing the literal meaning of a foreign concept with a native one in contrastive rhetoric studies.

Lastly, summarizing the applications of this study to native English speaking readers or to ESL writing teachers, the researcher would like to point out that first, as most contrastive rhetoric studies conclude, there is no good way or bad way to write. What exists is only a different way of presenting ideas across cultures. Only after realizing this can English teachers positively motivate ESL students' unique writing styles. Second, English teachers need to be patient in waiting for students' explanations of their logic in writing. For example, Chinese students may hide their thesis statements or delay them to the end of their papers in order to make the papers more technically or artistically appropriate. They may incorporate many subthemes when trying to make their viewpoints comprehensive, which gives English speakers the impression that they are being digressive and out of focus. Chinese students may also start a paper with a long introduction which seems to be far away from the topic, but their goal is to provide readers with background knowledge or to create a necessary environment for introducing the main content. All these "problems" in ESL students' writing need good listeners who attempt to understand the real intentions of the writer. Third, English teachers could also select ESL students' writing examples from their first language and compare them with other examples chosen from English texts to teach students the proper or acceptable forms for writing in English. In this way, ESL students will feel at ease with the expected forms and be less hesitant to adapt their native writing forms to their new English writing style or to adapt direct forms from the Chinese repertoire and develop a direct form in their English writing. All in all, it seems too simple to describe English writing as direct and Asian writing as indirect. More specific factors behind this basic concept are awaiting further discovery and analysis by researchers.

NOTE

[1] Liu Xie is the author of the original Chinese version of this book. Because the English translation is the only version available to the author, however, Shih will be the name used in this paper to reference the textbook. The translation is listed under the original author, Liu, below.

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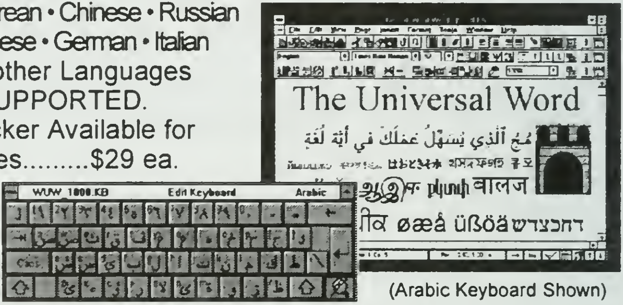

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A Cross-Cultural Study of Indirectness[1]

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When compared to other ethnic groups, the Japanese are often said to communicate using indirect speech patterns. This characterization, however, is mostly based on casual observation and there have not been many empirical studies.

This study investigates whether or not the Japanese are more indirect than Americans in conversations between same status interlocutors and whether the use of indirectness is influenced by in-group and out-group distinctions for speech acts of requests and complaints , as determined by a questionnaire study.

The results of this study did not support the hypothesis that Japanese students are more indirect than American students in complaint and request situations. Americans tended to behave similarly in all situations studied, while Japanese responded and acted differently in different situations. However, Japanese students are not more indirect toward out-group members. These results suggest that Japanese may be more direct than assumed, at least when there is no apparent status difference. Although it may be true that Japanese traditionally value indirectness more than speakers of other languages, this does not mean that Japanese speakers are necessarily more indirect than others.

INTRODUCTION

The topic of indirect speech acts has recently attracted considerable attention. The study of the differences between American and Japanese speech acts in terms of the level of directness is especially interesting. Although it is widely assumed that Japanese speakers are more indirect in their speech than Americans, this is not always true. One must look at the sociolinguistic factors which affect the level of indirectness. The most commonly accepted factor is a perceived difference of status among the participants. Takahashi (1987) shows that, as a general rule, a person of lower status would use an indirect speech act when, for example, making a request of someone who is perceived to have higher status. However, another important factor that determines the linguistic behaviors of the Japanese but which has received little attention in research on

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indirect speech acts is group affiliation. The purpose of this study is to compare requests and complaints made by Americans and Japanese and to investigate the role of group affiliation as it influences the level of directness of these speech acts.

Speech Acts

Austin (1962) is usually credited with being the first to note that some sentences are not used with the intention of making true or false statements but rather to actively do things, that is, to perform speech acts (e.g., declaring war or raising an objection). Since Austin's development of speech act theory, a variety of empirical studies concerning different speech acts have been conducted (Cohen and Olshtain, 1981; Blum-Kulka, 1987; Wolfson, 1983). Currently, there are two large research areas related to speech acts: cross-cultural pragmatics (i.e., comparing the usage of languages in different cultures) and interlanguage pragmatics (i.e., assessing the sociocultural competence of second language learners). In the area of cross-cultural pragmatics, for example, Olshtain (1989) compares Hebrew, French, Australian English, and Canadian French speakers in apology situations and finds no significant differences in style. To study speech acts within interlanguage, Faerch and Kasper (1989) compare native speakers of Danish, German, and British English with Danes who are intermediate and advanced level speakers of both German and English. They find that non-native speakers approximate native speakers of the target culture both in their request procedures and in the degree of face work involved in sociopragmatically different situations.

Indirect Speech Acts

One interesting aspect of speech acts is their apparent indirectness. This has been debated extensively by Sadock (1974), Searle (1975), Morgan (1978), and others. According to Searle, "in indirect speech acts the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information." (p. 60).

Among different ethnic groups, the Japanese are often associated with indirect speech patterns. For example, the indirectness of Japanese speakers is partially blamed for miscommunication between Japanese and Americans in business and political negotiations. Linguists such as Kindaichi (1978) and Suzuki (1978) interpret ellipsis in Japanese as systematic evidence of indirectness. The particles *ga* or *keredo* are usually translated as 'but' or 'though' in English. In natural conversation, however, many utterances are incomplete sentences ending with the particles *ga* or *kedo* (McGloin, 1984). The effect is to leave it up to the listener to make a reasonable assumption as to what might follow, as in (1).

(1) [3]*Kono hon ga hosii n desu ga...*
this book SUB want SE but
'I would like to have this book, but...'

Placing this utterance into a hypothetical context, a store clerk (listener) could safely assume upon hearing it that the customer (speaker) is expressing a desire to buy the book and expects the clerk to act accordingly. Kindaichi maintains that Japanese speakers use the particle *ga* and *kedo* to soften the sentence because without these particles the sentence is felt to be too abrupt or direct. Matsumoto (1985) refers to a similar phenomenon in her analysis of the use of the hedge marker *tyotto*. Taken out of context, *tyotto* literally means ‘a little.’ However, in conversation, *tyotto* is often used in expressions of polite refusal or hesitation, as in (2).

(2) A: *Goruhu simasen ka.*
golf do-NEG Q
'How about playing golf?'
B: *Goruhu wa tyotto...*
golf TOP HEDGE
'Golf, well...'

Matsumoto states that the reason Japanese use *tyotto* and fail to complete their sentence is that saying 'no' is too direct and hence impolite.

Level of Indirectness

One of the issues concerning speech acts is the various levels of indirectness. These levels of indirectness are often divided into three broad categories: direct, conventionally indirect, and very indirect (hints). According to this division, imperatives are direct, and questions and embedded subjunctive phrases are conventionally indirect. Hints such as "this room is very hot," which is intended as a request to open a window, can be considered to be very indirect. However, in order to compare levels of directness in speech acts, it is necessary to have a scale with a more detailed rating. Ervin-Tripp (1976), Blum-Kulka (1987), and Takahashi (1987) proposed different levels of directness. Among these studies, only Takahashi's scale of directness levels includes both Japanese and English speech acts and is described here.

Takahashi's sources of various types of directives are (i) data obtained through her role-playing research and (ii) literature concerned with English and Japanese directives. According to Takahashi, realization of indirectness is achieved by means of "the speaker's tact in giving the hearer certain options" (p. 66) and "the types of options [which] determine the degree of indirectness" (p. 66). In particular, her indirectness scale is constructed (i) from the speaker's point of view (not the hearer's perception) and (ii) by excluding the notion of deference and politeness. Although indirectness is often associated with politeness, it is important to note that indirect speech acts are not necessarily polite. Takahashi cites Leech's (1980) example "Would you mind leaving the room?" to make the point. While this utterance disguises a directive as a question and is thus indirect, it can also be extremely impolite on certain occasions.

Takahashi classifies directives into three general levels of directness:

level 0 (direct directives, in which the speaker does not give any response option to the hearer, except direct compliance or refusal.)
level 1 (indirect directives which specify the desired action with an explicit agent, action, object, and often beneficiary.)
level 2 (indirect directives which only implicitly refer to the desired action).

In Japanese, both "V-te kudasai" and "V-te kure" are examples of imperative forms and are considered as direct directives, although the former is more polite (honorific) than the latter. Indirect directives in level 1 are subdivided into several types according to the degree of indirectness:

Level	
1.1	Sentences stating S's wish or desire that H will do A.
1.2	Sentences stating S's expectation of H's doing A.
1.3	Sentences asking H's will, desire, or willingness to do A.
1.4	Sentences asking H's ability to do A.
1.5	Sentences asking reasons for H's not doing A.
1.6	Sentences asking H's permission for S's requesting to do A.
1.7	Interrogative sentences embedding one of the clauses/gerunds concerning H's doing A.
1.8	Declarative sentences questioning H's doing A.
1.9	Sentences concerning S's expectation of H's doing A in hypothetical situations.

(H = hearer, S = speaker, A = act/action)

Indirect level 2, which consists of indirect directives with implicit reference to the desired action is further divided into two subcategories:

Level

2.1 **Interrogative sentences:**
The directives in this category include every interrogative sentence which fails to specify the desired action on the part of the hearer.

2.2 **Declarative sentences:**
The directives covering every declarative sentence which implicitly refers to the desired action on the part of the hearer. There are two subtypes:

Level

2.2.1 Sentences manifesting S's literal implication: Speaker implicates his/her intent by saying what he/she perceives to be literally true (e.g. ,"My throat is dry" Intent: "Give me something to drink").

2.2.2 Sentences manifesting S's non-literal implication:
Speaker implies his/her intent through irony, sarcasm or some other statement containing the meaning opposite to what he/she literally says (e.g., "I'm sure the cat likes having its tail pulled." Intent: "Stop pulling the cat's tail"). (From Bach and Harnish (1979:72)).

Takahashi subdivides all the above directives into thirteen ranks of increasing indirectness and associates these ranks with English and Japanese forms of directness. The summary of her scale of indirectness is given in (3) below:

(3) Levels of Indirectness by Takahashi (1987)

Rank	Level	English	Japanese
1	0.0	Imperatives	*V-nasai, V-ro, V-te kudasai*
2	1.1	Statement of want	*V-te moraitai, V-tai no desu.*
3	1.2	You + Modal Aux + Uninflected verb	*V-re/rare masu, V-beki desu*
4	1.3	Will/won't you VP?	*V-te kuremasu ka.*
		Would you mind VP-ing?	*V-te itadakemasen ka.*
5	1.4	Can/Can't you VP?	*V-rare masu-ka.*
6	1.5	Why don't you VP?	*Naze V-nai no desu ka.*
7	1.6	Can I ask you to VP?	*V-te kudasaru yoo onegai dekimasu ka.*
8	1.7	Do you think that you can VP?	*-to omoimasen ka*
		How about VP-ing?	*-wa ikaga desu ka.*
9	1.8	I wonder if you could VP.	*-ka doo ka to omoimasite.*

10	1	I would appreciate it if you would VP.	*-to arigatai no desu ga---*
11	2.1	Interrogative sentence, implicit reference to the action	
		Are we out of coffee? May I VP?	*Onegai dekimasen desyoo ka.*
	2.2	Declarative sentences with implicit reference to the action	
12	2.2.1	Sentences manifesting S's literal implication	
		Need statement	*-ga iru no desu.*
		Declarative sentences other than the above	*Onegai itasimasu.*
13	2.2.2	Sentence manifesting S's non-literal implication -ironic expressions	

There are some questions whether these English and Japanese expressions are parallel in terms of indirectness. For example, 'How about VP-ing' and 'May I VP?' in English may sound more direct than their Japanese counterparts in her scale, *-wa ikaga desu ka* and *Onegai dekimasen deshoo ka*, respectively. However, it is not easy to make a comparative indirect scale between two languages, (particularly when comparing languages like English and Japanese which are very different syntactically, as well as pragmatically) and in any case, perfect parallelism may be impossible.

In-group/Out-group

Nakane (1970) divided the interpersonal world into three layers: a primary world of people to whom one is bound closely and affectionately, and to whom one is obligated (in-group); a second world of people with whom one interacts on the basis of roles and functional needs (out-group); and a third group consisting of strangers who are virtually ignored and who rarely become intimates. The members of an in-group can include family and co-workers in the same section or division of a company or in the same factory building. This 'in-groupness' may change according to the situation.

Lebra (1976) and Loveday (1986) claim that group affiliation as well as status is very important in defining an individual in Japanese society. Lebra states that the Japanese establish identity on the basis of group ties and that it is difficult to converse in Japanese without indicating to which group the interlocutors, or the persons being referred to, belong. However, I have not seen any studies which relate Japanese indirectness and group affiliation.

The problem with the claim that "Japanese are indirect" is that in general it is often based only on casual observation and there have not been many empirical studies on this subject. Beebe and Takahashi (1989), who conducted one of the few empirical studies, found that the Japanese are indirect when they express disagreement with a higher status person, but are more direct with lower status people. Beebe and Takahashi concluded that the Japanese are not always indirect, and that the difference in status is only one of the variables affecting level of indirectness.

This paper seeks to determine whether or not Japanese are more indirect in conversations between same status interlocutors (including same sex and age) when compared with Americans and whether the use of indirectness is influenced by in-group and out-group distinctions. The study was designed to test the following hypotheses:

1. In general, Japanese students are more indirect than American students.
2. Japanese students, but not American students, are more indirect when interacting with an out-group member than with an in-group member.

METHOD

Subjects

30 American and 30 Japanese female students, both undergraduates and graduates ranging in age from 19 to 25 at the University of Hawaii, served as subjects for the questionnaire study. All of the Japanese students were in the New Intensive Course in English (NICE) program and had just arrived from Japan three months earlier. All of the American students, both undergraduate and graduate, were in ESL or linguistics classes. In addition, two pairs of Japanese and Americans (undergraduate and graduate) participated in a role play.

Instrument

Among a variety of speech acts, this study concentrated on requests and complaints, because they are common speech acts studied by previous researchers such as Blum-Kulka (1987) and Takahashi (1987), and thus allow for comparisons. These two speech acts are also relevant for Takahashi's (1987) indirectness scale, which can be used for both American and Japanese subjects. Takahashi calls both request and complaint speech acts 'directives' but I call the speech act a 'complaint' when the speaker believes that an addressee has imposed on him/her and a 'request' when the speaker does not.

In this study, indirectness is examined by questionnaire and by role play. The questionnaire, similar in style to the Discourse Completion Test (DCT)[4] used by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) has four situations: complaint and request for both the in-group and out-group (Appendix A). In the questionnaire as well as in the role play, an in-group person was described as a good friend and an out-group person as a neighbor. The subjects are asked to write down the exact words they are going to say after reading the description of the situations. The role play is used to supplement data from the questionnaire in order to make the process of negotiation visible. Only complaint situations are used for the role play in both in-group and out-group, because a complaint situation is probably more face-threatening than a request situation (both for complainer and complainee) and therefore indirectness is likely to be used more often. The two party (Americans/American and Japanese/Japanese) face-to-face role play recordings were collected as follows. Volunteers were asked to participate and met one pair at a time in one classroom. The participants in pairs did not know each other beforehand. Before each role play, the participants were handed a card which explained the situation. The instruction was the same as the questionnaire (situations 3 and 4 in Appendix A) except that in the role play, each participant was given a name for each situation. When they read the instructions, they were told to take as much as time as they needed to play out the situation with their partner. Later, each participant was interviewed for clarification of their intentions.

Data Analysis

The level of indirectness is coded first by identifying a head act in the questionnaire, following Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989). According to Blum-Kulka et al., a head act for request is the minimal unit which can realize a request; it is the core of the request sequence (p. 275). For example, in the sentence, "John, get me a beer, please. I'm terribly thirsty," "get me a beer, please" is a head act and both "John" (alerter), and "I'm terribly thirsty" (supportive move) are not essential for realizing the request. The head act for each situation is then judged for its level of indirectness according to Takahashi's (1987) scale.

The role play recordings were analyzed qualitatively rather than quantitatively because it was not possible to identify a head act in some of the role play data. Originally it had been planned to compare head acts in the role play with those in the questionnaire, but this proved difficult without a framework for comparing hints with head acts.

RESULTS

Questionnaire

For the each of the four situations, the frequency of occurrence at the different levels on the indirectness scale are shown in corresponding tables (e.g., Table 1 for situation 1). With the exception of situation 3 (Table 3), the most frequent level used for Japanese was rank 4 of level 1. For situation 1, it was 13/30, situation 2, 22/30 and situation 3, 24/30. For situation 3, it was level 0 (direct). For all four situations, many of the 13 ranks were not chosen by any of the Japanese. On the other hand, many more ranks were chosen by the

Americans. With the exception of situation 4, level 2 (indirect) utterances are chosen by American rather than Japanese students. These results show that while Americans tended to use a wide variety of levels of directness, Japanese used fewer different ranks and Japanese seemed to be more direct than Americans.

Tables 5, 6, 7, and 8 below show Takahashi's three levels of directness, here called Direct, Conventional Direct, and Indirect. The chi-square test for significance of the differences between Americans and Japanese yields $X^2 = 5.296$ ($p < 0.025$) for situation 1 (request to an in-group member), $X^2 = 20.44$ ($P < 0.005$) for situation 2 (request to an out-group member), $X^2 = 5.84$ ($P < 0.025$) for situation 3 (complaint to an in-group member) and $X^2=2.07$ ($P < 0.1$) for situation 4 (complaint to an out-group member). Only in situation 2 are Japanese significantly more direct than Americans, although situations 1 and 3 show the same tendency. Comparisons of the mean value of indirectness (within 13 ranks) using a t-test are shown in Table 9; Japanese were significantly more direct than Americans in situations 1, 2, and 4.

Thus hypothesis 1, "Japanese students are more indirect than American students" was not supported; rather, there was a tendency in the opposite direction except with out-group complaints. The Japanese students may be more direct than the Americans in the out-group request situation, at least when the status of the interlocutor is the same. This result is surprising, especially in light of the generalized image of the Japanese and the claims made by both Japanese and non-Japanese scholars reviewed above.

In this study some of the Japanese indirect speech acts took the form of explicit suggestions, such as *Atokatazuke toobansei ni simasyoo,* 'Let's take turns in cleaning up afterwards', or *zibun no koto wa zibun de simasyoo,* 'Let's each take care of our own things', responding to situation 3 (unwashed dishes). Although these responses were not included in Takahashi's rating scale, it may not be an unusual response for Japanese speakers. Since they are not direct requests which use 'you,' such as 'can you' or 'I,' such as 'may I,' I consider them as a form of an explicit suggestion such as 'let's do' and rate them as rank 8 (an embedded interrogative sentence), with other suggestions[5]. As a result, Japanese responses in situation 3 were more indirect than in other situations, in spite of the fact that the addressee was an in-group member, as shown in Table 9 below.

Table 1: Frequencies of Requests in Situation 1 (In-group, Request)

Level	Rank	American		Japanese	
		Freq.	Level Freq.	Freq.	Level Freq.
0	1	2	2	8	8
	2	2		5	
	3	0		0	
	4	2		13	

1	5	4		0	
	6	0	20	1	19
	7	5		0	
	8	2		0	
	9	4		0	
	10	1		0	
	11	5		3	
2	12	3	8	0	3
	13	0		0	
Total		30		30	

Table 2: Frequencies of Request in Situation 2 (Out-group, Request)

Level	Rank	American		Japanese	
		Freq.	Level Freq.	Freq.	Level Freq.
0	1	0	0	3	3
	2	0		0	
	3	0		0	
	4	4		22	
	5	7		4	
1	6	0	22	0	26
	7	4		0	
	8	3		0	
	9	3		0	
	10	1		0	
	11	8		1	
2	12	0	8	0	1
	13	0		0	
Total		30		30	

Table 3: Frequencies of Requests in Situation 3 (in-group, complaint)

Level	Rank	American		Japanese	
		Freq.	Level Freq.	Freq.	Level Freq.
0	1	4	40	12	12
	2	0		0	
	3	1		1	
	4	4		4	
	5	5		1	

1	6	0	18	0	14
	7	0		0	
	8	4		8	
	9	1		0	
	10	3		0	
	11	3		3	
2	12	4	8	1	4
	13	1		0	
Total		30		30	

Table 4: Frequencies of Request in Situation 4 (Out-group, Complaint)

Level	Rank	American		Japanese	
		Freq.	Level Freq.	Freq.	Level Freq.
0	1	0	0	2	2
	2	0		3	
	3	0		0	
	4	6		24	
	5	7		0	
1	6	0	29	0	27
	7	0		0	
	8	2		0	
	9	11		0	
	10	3		0	
	11	1		1	
2	12	0	1	0	1
	13	0		0	
Total		30		30	

Table 5: Frequencies of Indirectness in Each Level for Situation 1

(the number in parentheses shows % in each group)

	American	Japanese	Total
Direct	2 (6)	8 (27)	10
Conventional	20 (67)	19 (63)	39
Very Indirect	8 (27)	3 (10)	11
Total	30 (100)	30 (100)	60

Table 6: Frequencies of Indirectness in Each Level for Situation 2

	American	Japanese	Total
Direct	0 (0)	3 (10)	3
Conventional	22 (73)	26 (87)	48
Very Indirect	8 (27)	1 (3)	9
Total	30 (100)	30 (100)	60

Table 7: Frequencies of Indirectness in Each Level for Situation 3

	American	Japanese	Total
Direct	4 (13)	12 (40)	16
Conventional	18 (60)	14 (47)	32
Very Indirect	8 (27)	4 (13)	12
Total	30 (100)	30 (100)	60

Table 8: Frequencies of Indirectness in Each Level for Situation 4

	American	Japanese	Total
Direct	0 (0)	2 (7)	2
Conventional	29 (97)	27 (90)	56
Very Indirect	1 (3)	1 (3)	2
Total	30 (100)	30 (100)	60

Table 9: Comparison of the Mean Values by Situation
(The number in parentheses shows S.D.)

Situation	Americans	Japanese	
1 In-group, Request	7.40 (3.89)	3.63 (2.87)	< 0.001
2 Out-group, Request	7.63 (2.70)	4.07 (1.66)	< 0.001
3 In-group, Complaint	7.10 (3.87)	4.83 (3.84)	< 0.027
4 Out-group, Complaint	7.50 (2.78)	3.83 (1.64)	<0.001

In order to ascertain whether there was any relationship between indirectness and in-group or out-group membership, correlation coefficients were obtained. For the Americans, the Pearson correlation coefficient between the in-group and out-group was r = 0.32 (P < 0.02 not significant), but for the Japanese, it was r = 0.003. Thus, American students tend to respond similarly, regardless of whether the addressee was an in-group or out-group member, but the Japanese responses were largely dependent on in-group or out-group membership. However, contrary to expectation, the Japanese did not indicate that they would respond more indirectly toward the out-group. As described above, the Japanese students used more suggestions toward an in-group member, especially in situation 3, the in-group complaint situation (unwashed dishes). Since these suggestions are ranked 8 out of 13, they are more indirect than most of the other responses. For request and complaint situations, the Japanese were not significantly more direct to the in-group than to the out-group. Thus hypothesis 2, "Japanese students are more direct when interacting with an out-group member than with an in-group member," was not supported.

Role Play

1. American pair #1 (in-group, unwashed dishes situation):[6]

In this role play recording there were no clear (direct or conventional) head acts. Instead, the complainer used all of the expressions given in (9) and added many hesitations, such as "ummm," "you know," etc.

(9) Preparators: "Could I talk to you about something?"
Hints: "I know you are really busy."
Suggested alternatives: "I'll go out and get food."
Downgraders: "I wouldn't worry so much...., but.."
Grounders to justify requests: "You know how cockroaches are."

Also once the complainee began to apologize, the complainer primarily became a listener. All speech acts used by the complainer appeared to attempt to soften the force of the complaint. (The full transcript of this role play appears in Appendix B.)

2. Japanese pair #1 (in-group, unwashed dishes situation):

Compared with the American pairs, the Japanese pairs expressed their intentions more directly. (Therefore, their role plays were much shorter). This can be seen from the more obvious head acts in Japanese role play. The head act in the first role play was a suggestive complaint following a preparatory remark (a grounder), that is, *Watasi yattoita n da kedo yappari sono gurai wa taisita tema ja nai kara otagai ni koohei ni yaritai no yo ne. Ikaga ka sira.* 'I did (your dishes) for you, but wasn't much trouble. It's just that I want to do things on an equal basis between us. How about that?' Although this was an indirect complaint, the intention was very clear and the force of the imposition was felt by the complainee; so she took the responsibility and asked the complainer to do her dishes for her for a week, and in return she agreed to do them for both later.

However, the complainer did not accept the offer, insisting that the complainee do them now, because *kibuntenkan ni narusi* 'it would be a break for you' (imposition minimizer) and *zibun no koto wa zibun de sita hoo ga iisi* 'and it is better to do your things by yourself.' When the complainee agreed to do them herself, the complainer minimized the problem saying, *iya watasi mo sonnani kini site inai n dakedo* 'No, I am not concerned so much but...'

3. American pair #2 (in-group, unwashed dishes situation):

In this unwashed dishes situation, there were no apparent head acts, only a mild hint, "You must be very busy" and an appealer, "You're not usually like that, right?" Even after the roommate showed some embarrassment and offered reparations, such as "I can, you know, take over yours for a while..." the complainer declined the offer and downplayed the "problem" saying, "That's all right. It's no big deal." Her only "complaint" was that in the future the roommate should let her know if she thought she couldn't do the dishes for some reason. (The American subject who played the role of the complainer stated, during a later interview, that for her there was no option but to do the dishes as she could not stand them being left.)

4. Japanese pair #2 (in-group, unwashed dishes situation):

The complainer first asked her roommate a number of questions (grounders) such as, *Aa, doo datta, kyoo. Bekyoo hakadotta?* 'How was your day? Did your studying go well?' *Yoru mo osoku made okite iru no ka naa* 'I'm wondering if it's that you are studying so late?,' and *yoohan wa tyanto tabeteiru no* 'Are you eating dinner properly?,' thus gradually approaching the topic, until finally coming to the most relevant utterance, *Anoo, osara to ka hon no sukosi sika dete nai kara amari tabete nai n zya nai ka to omotte tan da kedo, issyo ni arattyau kara ki niwa site nai n da kedo yappari nokotteru to kitanai desyoo, dakara doo syooka* (laugh) 'Um, I was wondering if you were not eating much, because only a few plates are left...I washed them with mine, because only a few plates are left out....I washed them with mine, so it does not bother me, but after all when (they' re) left out it's a mess, isn't it? So what shall we do?' By asking for a suggestion, the complainer imposed on the complainee to offer some kind of solution. The result was the complainee's apologizing and promising forbearance. At the end, the complainer made a conventional indirect request, *zyaa, onegai ne* 'Well, then, I ask you.'

5. American pair #1 (out-group, noise situation):

The most interesting aspect of this role play was that the person who assumed the responsibility in this noise situation was not the complainee, the one who made the noise, but rather the complainer, the one who was supposed to come to complain about the noise. She first blamed herself, saying, "It's because of me...I 've just been under a lot of stress at work," and then expressed her embarrassment: " I feel really bad." Even after the complainee realized that the problem was her music, the complainer continued to blame herself, saying, "I should have come sooner," to explain her situation. When leaving, the complainer offered yet another apology. The complainer also used mitigating utterances such as, "I feel better....I know it's my work ...," etc. It is also interesting that she started her complaint by stating that she would come right to the point, but never did. She made many efforts to soften the imposition, resulting in a very indirect way of making a complaint.

6. Japanese pair #1 (out-group, noise situation):

In this role play the complainer used a more direct means of making a complaint by asking the complainee to practice earlier, *Moo sukosi hayaku onegai dekimasu ka* 'May I, perhaps, request (that you do it) a little earlier?' The complainer also used an intensifier *kanari* '(I can hear it) pretty well.' Furthermore, when the complainee offered to shorten the time by half an hour, the complainer asked for more, *dekireba, zyuuzi gurai ni (*laugh) 'By ten o'clock, if possible.' She also emphasized the need for the request by saying that other neighbors are also bothered by the noise.

7. American pair #2 (out-group, noise situation):

In this role play again the complainer did not use conventional indirect or direct complaints. At the beginning, however, she gave a reason for her complaint (a grounder), "I have been having trouble sleeping at night because of your violin," making the complaint obvious to the complainee. So when the latter offered an alternative, practicing in the morning, there was no need to push further. The complainer also tried to downplay the complaint with an incomplete denial. When asked if the sound was really loud, she replied: "Yes. No. Umm...Well, I hear it."

8. Japanese pair #2 (out-group, noise situation):

In this role play the complainer immediately came to the point. The head act in this role play was in the form of a conventional indirect complaint, *Oto ga kanari kikoeru si, dekitara maa zyuiti-zi goro made ni site itadakereba to omou n desu kedo* 'I can really hear your violin and I would appreciate it if you could stop practicing by about eleven.' This was followed by the requestee's apologizing and seeking assurance, *zyuuichi-zi gurai made desitara yorosii desu ka* 'Is it all right if (I stop) by eleven?' The complainer accepted the apology and minimized the problem: *Ee, mondai nai desu* 'Yes, it shouldn't be any problem' and *tondemo arimasen* 'No problem.'

DISCUSSION

The results of this study did not support the hypothesis that Japanese students are more indirect than American students in complaint and request situations. Americans tended to behave similarly in all the situations studied, while Japanese responded and acted differently in the out-group and in-group situations. However, the reason for this is not necessarily that the Japanese students were more indirect toward out-group members; Japanese complaints and requests to out-group members were not more indirect than those to in-group members.

In light of previous research, these results are surprising. Of course we need more data to confirm the results, but it is possible that the Japanese may be more direct than has been assumed. For example, Barnlund (1989) notes that Americans value verbal expressions and the arts of argument and debate are encouraged throughout their lives, while the Japanese prefer avoidance and accommodation to solve problems. It is possible, then, that Japanese may avoid requests or complaints (i.e., they do not say anything), especially in face-threatening situations; however, when they think they should request or complain, they may do so in a simple and direct manner because they do not believe in arguing.

Japanese society also may be changing in terms of their linguistic behavior. It is said that young people have become more individualistic and straightforward than older people. Ogino (1989) shows that college students in his study did not use honorifics. Therefore, present day Japanese may be tending toward a more direct communicative style than before. In order to confirm this, we need comparisons of age groups and preferably longitudinal studies to show generational changes in Japanese society.

If, in fact, the Japanese are more direct than they are assumed to be, then the question is why are there so many claims about Japanese "indirectness?" This may be related to speech characteristics valued in Japanese society. If people talk directly, the Japanese may think the speakers are too abrupt and rude. Therefore, they may add softeners such as *tyooto* 'a bit' or *kedo* 'but' to weaken the illocutionary force of their utterances. However, a "head act" itself may be shown in the direct form instead of a conventional indirect form. Another reason for the claim for Japanese indirectness may be the Japanese use of hints. Beebe and Takahashi (1989) show that the Japanese use hints more frequently than Americans. A hint makes the speaker's intentions even less apparent than a conventional indirect form does. Therefore, people may get the impression that the Japanese are more indirect than they actually are.

It may be true, as many linguists claim, that the Japanese language has more grammatical ways to express indirectness than other languages, but this does not necessarily mean that Japanese speakers are more indirect than people of other cultures and languages. It may mean that Japanese speakers have a more elaborate set of pragmatic conventions which guide their use of indirect expressions. The relationship between grammatical forms and pragmatic conventions with regard to directness has an analogy in the analysis of Japanese politeness: The fact that the Japanese language has a complicated set of honorific forms does not mean that Japanese speakers are necessarily more polite than other groups.

This finding also has pedagogical implications. If teachers over-emphasize the aspect of Japanese indirectness, they may mislead students. Americans who expect that Japanese speakers are indirect may feel confused in situations where Japanese are actually not indirect. Thus it is important that teachers be able to describe a more accurate picture of Japanese, not a stereotype.

While the results of this study are quite revealing, some methodological problems still exist. The concept of group affiliation should be more clearly defined and adequately represented. However, it was very difficult to choose situations which were at the same time realistic and similar in significance to both Japanese and American students. For example, the out-group is represented as a neighbor in this study; however, it is possible that the concept of "neighbor" may be different between young people who live temporarily in an apartment (like in the situation of this study) and married couples who own a house and live there permanently. For the latter, a neighbor may be a member of the out-group, but for the former, a neighbor may not be perceived as an out-group member in Nakane's terms but closer to a stranger, or a person of no significance to their interactions. If so, this could possibly account for why the subjects in this study behaved directly. Also, a typical example of in-group membership is a family member. However, since the subject pairs were all intended to be of equal status, it is impossible to use family members as in-group representatives because each family member's status in Japanese society is clearly different. Some Japanese students commented on the indirectness of in-group situations, explaining that it is sometimes difficult to complain to a best friend because they are afraid of negatively influencing the relationship with that friend. Therefore the relationship between indirectness and in-group/out-group difference is complicated by a diversity of variables.

One of the problems for any cross-linguistic study is the creation of rating scales. While Takahashi's rating scale is quite comprehensive, it needs further testing with additional data, as well as validation of inter-rater reliability. For example, the English modal 'can' and the Japanese *dekiru* may appear to be near equivalents in meaning, but it is unlikely that they carry the same level of indirectness in each language, especially since 'can' is used far more frequently for requests than Japanese *dekiru*.

CONCLUSION

In this study, I have demonstrated that when the status between the subjects is equal, Japanese students are not necessarily more indirect than American students, and that the in-group and out-group distinction may not be related in a simple fashion to the level of indirectness used. The results are interesting because they demonstrate that instead of saying simply that "the Japanese are indirect," we must investigate precisely when and in what contexts they use indirectness and when they do not. There is no doubt that the Japanese are indirect in certain circumstances and are concerned about when they should be indirect. This contributes to miscommunication between Japanese and Americans and to the belief for both Japanese and Americans that "Japanese are indirect." However, as Beebe and Takahashi (1989) have shown, a Japanese person with higher status is not indirect to a person with a lower status. It is even possible that Japanese speakers of higher status are actually more direct to their subordinates than are their American counterparts. And when there is no status difference, as in this study, the Japanese may be more direct than it is often assumed. One of the reasons the Japanese sometimes are more direct than assumed may be related to the Japanese attitude toward speech. The Japanese tend to value silence and regard eloquent speech with suspicion. The verbal skills of debating, arguing, or persuading are not considered important. Therefore, they either tend not to say anything, or if they do decide to speak out, they may do so directly. Current changes in Japanese society may also be contributing factors to the increased use of direct speech; it is entirely possible that the Japanese speech of today is becoming more direct than before. In order to more clearly understand the dynamics, mechanisms, and motivations of directness and indirectness in Japanese society, we need to collect more data from actual interactive contexts and conduct further studies in clearly defined situations.

NOTES

[1] Part of this article was presented at the Southern Conference on Linguistics (SECOL) in March, 1992. This is a revised version of a paper on which I received very helpful comments from Dr. Polly Szatrowski, Dr. Gabriel Kasper and Susan J. Weaver.

[2] The romanization and word division used in the Japanese transcription in this paper follows Jorden (1987), except for diacritics and special symbols which express stress, intonation, etc.

[3] The following symbols and abbreviations are used.

(.)	short pause
(( ))	comments
COP	copulative verb, be
NEG	negative

EXT	sentence extender
SUB	subject marker
TOP	topic marker
QUEST	question particle
HEDGE	hedge, softener

[4] The main difference between the DCT by Blum-Kulka et al., (1989) and my questionnaire is that mine does not include the last turn in which the addressee responds to the speaker. This is illustrated in the following example (Blum-Kulka et al. (1989, p. 14))

(a) At the University

Ann missed a lecture yesterday and would like to borrow Judith's notes.

Ann: ________________________

Judith: Sure, but let me have them back before the lecture next week.

My reason for not having the last turn, such as Judith's is that the indicated speaker style may influence the subject's response.

[5] I consulted with Takahashi, and we both agreed on the level of this sentence.

[6] The participants of group 1 are graduate students; participants in group 2 are undergraduates.

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APPENDIX A

The description of the following four situations was presented in random order in the subject's native language (either English or Japanese) with the instructions, but without a title such as in situation 1(in-group, request) as seen below.

Instructions: Please read the following situations carefully. Assuming the person you are going to talk to is of the same sex and about the same age as you, please write what you would say in these situations. Please give your exact words, just as you would say to them.

Situation 1 (Request, in-group)
You lend your expensive outfit to your best friend for her party. Although she phones to thank you after the party, it has been a month and she has not yet returned it. You really want it back now. When you go to see her about your outfit , you say:..."

Situation 2 (Request, out-group)
You are waiting at a bus stop. Finally, the bus comes and you realize that you only have a $20 bill for the bus fare of 60 cents. You know that the bus driver does not carry any change. If you miss the bus, you will be late for an important exam. At that moment, you recognize a neighbor you see every morning. When you approach her, you say:..."

Situation 3 (Complaint, in-group)
You and your roommate, who is also your friend, have been getting along pretty well. But recently she has been leaving her dishes unwashed until the following day. You have already finished your mid-term exam, but she is still working on her paper. Although you know she is busy, you feel she is inconsiderate to you. Again, this morning you found a big mess in the kitchen and had to clean up for your breakfast. When you come home, you see your roommate. You decide to talk with her about it, you say:..."
you:"

Situation 4 (Complaint, out-group)
You work for a big security company. Recently you have been doing a lot of overtime, and feel exhausted when you get to your apartment. However, you have a neighbor who lives upstairs and practices the violin every night until well after 11 p.m. Because of the "noise," you suffer from insomnia. Finally, you decide to go and talk with her about it. You knock on her door and she opens it. You say:

APPENDIX B

The following are transcripts of role plays by American pair #1 and Japanese pair #1 in an in-group situation.

Role play 1 (American, in-group, unwashed dishes)

1 Julie: Uh, Karen.
2 Karen: Yeah.
3 Julie: Umm (.) could I talk to you about something?
4 Karen: Sure.
5 Julie: Umm (.) I know you're really busy, writing a paper and
you know, I just finished my mid-term, so I know what it's like to
be under stress.
6 Karen: Yeah.
7 Julie: Usually when I'm really busy writing a paper or studying for
an exam or something, really busy, so, I'll go out and get
food to go, because then I don't have to worry about
washing dishes.
8 Karen: Oh, it's the dishes, huh?
9 Julie: Yeah ((laughing))
10 Karen: Yeah (.) I'm really sorry. (.) ummm you know, it's gonna
be over pretty soon (.) this, this crisis (.) but it's only

I'm thinking about (.) just (.)
11 Julie: Yeah(.)
12 Karen: I guess that's it. I mean just (.) I wake up in the morning and just thinking about (.) just (.)
13 Julie: Yeah.
14 Karen: I guess I am getting very self-centered about routine
15 Julie: I wouldn't worry so much about our place, but, but you know how cockroaches are.
16 Karen: I know it's pretty gross.
17 Julie: So.
18 Karen: I know (.) I'm sorry. I know, I didn't think about it.
19 Julie: I know .
20 Karen: I'm sorry. I will pay more attention about it. Please remind me if I forget again.
21 Julie: Okay, thanks a lot.
22 Karen: Sure, no problem.

Role play 2: Japanese, Unwashed dishes

1 Yuki: *Tadaima.*
'I'm back.' (greeting when one comes home)

2 Keiko: *Okaerinasai.*
'Welcome back.'
(response to that greeting by the person already at home)

3 Yuki: *Aa Keiko-san, ioo to omotte ita n dakedo ne, anoo, kesa syokki ga aratte nakatta desyoo. Watasi yattoita n dakedo yappari sono gurai wa taisita tema zyanaikara, otagai ni koohei ni yaritai no yo ne, ikaga kasira?.*

'Oh, Keiko, I was thinking of saying (this), but..this morning you didn't wash the dishes, did you? I did (them) for you but after all it (washing dishes) shouldn't be a big deal, so I want (us) to be fair to each other, how about it ?'

4 Keiko: *Uun, gomennasai ne. Itsumo warui to omotte ita n dakedo,ima tottemo isogasikute (.) ato issyuukan sitara kondo-wa watasi-ga araukara, ato issyuukan gaman site moraenai kasira.*

'Yeah, I'm sorry. I have always felt bad about it,but now I am very busy, so I'll do the dishes in a week, so I am wondering if you would do (them) for one more week (until then).'

5 Yuki: *Aaa, issyuukan to ittemo syokuzi wa mainiti no koto dakara, uun, arau no wa kibuntenkan ni narusi, anoo, dekiru dake yatte hosii no yo ne. Watasi wa ima made yatteta n dakedo otagain isogasikute mo syokkiarai gurai wa zibun de yatta hoo ga iisi .*

'Oh, even if it is one more week, we eat every day so, uuh doing dishes can be a break in your routine, so if possible I want you to do (them). I have been doing (them) for you until now, but we are both busy and at least we should do our own dishes.'

6 Keiko: *Soo ne. Gomennasai ne {laugh}. Tui yatte kureru kara tuitui amaete uun, moo sukoshi, moo sukosi to omotte {laugh}. hontoo ni gomennasai.*

'That's right. I'm sorry. Just because you do (them) for me. I depend on you doing dishes a little longer (then I am all right). 'I'm really sorry.'

7 Yuki: *Iya watasi mo hontoo wa sonna ni ki ni sitenai n dakedo, demo yappari otagai no koto wa zibun no koto wa zibun de sita hoo ga ii kara, (.) zya onegai simasu ne.*

'No, me too, don't worry so much, but we had better do our own things by ourselves. This is what I am asking you.'

8 Keiko: *Kore kara ki o tukemasu.*
'From now on, I will take care of myself.'

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Developmental Sequences in Learning Japanese: A Look at Negation

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Previous research has established that language learners follow developmental sequences in acquiring such features as tense, negation, and question formation in a second language (L2), and that these patterns are similar to those characteristic of children acquiring their first language (L1). These findings have been based almost exclusively on acquisition patterns in learners of English and other Indo-European languages; until recently, almost no L2 acquisition research existed on typologically dissimilar (i.e., non-Indo-European) languages. Thus, the question arises: Do learners of non-Indo-European languages also follow common routes in acquiring certain L2 features? To address this issue, the development of negation in L2 learners of Japanese was selected as the focus for the present study. Twelve subjects beginning their study of Japanese at the university level in the U.S. were recruited to determine how propositional negation emerged in their interlanguage. Subjects were interviewed bi-monthly over an academic year and oral production data examined to determine types of negation patterns used and predicate contexts in which they emerged. Analysis of data revealed several developmental patterns common to the learners: 1) from fewer to more negation patterns were used over time, and 2) an ordering effect was observed in terms of the predicate environment in which negation is acquired first (nominal and verb negation before adjective negation). Results expand our understanding of developmental sequences in L2 learning by establishing its occurrence in a non-Indo-European language. It also documents that L2 Japanese learners' negative constructions are remarkably similar to those of L1 children. The present study, by providing insight into the acquisition of one feature in a non-Indo-European language, holds significance for second language theory as well as Japanese language pedagogy.

OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

This paper reports the acquisition of negation in Japanese as a second language (JSL) by adult learners in the U.S.[1] Specifically, propositional negation in the spoken data of classroom learners is examined to determine whether there exist common developmental sequences in negative constructions.

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The study involved twelve adult subjects just beginning their study of Japanese, interviewed individually four times over an academic year. Data are analyzed in terms of: 1) negation patterns produced at each interview time and 2) the order of predicate environments in which negation is acquired first/last. Specific patterns of negation in learners are compared to findings from research on the development of negation in Japanese L1 as well as in Indo-European L2s.

Motivation

Motivation for the study came from personal experience as a classroom teacher informally observing students' attempts to master the Japanese negation system. It was noted that their negative constructions frequently diverged from teacher input and textbooks, despite explicit grammatical instruction. Furthermore, individual learners' negative productions seemed to fluctuate from one time to another. It was intuitively assumed that their difficulty, at least in part, must be related to the relative complexity of negation rules in Japanese, which vary by predicate category (i.e., verbal, V-*nai*; nominal, N-*zya-nai*; and adjectival, A-*ku-nai*) as well as by tense and politeness level.[2] An empirical study of L2 learners acquiring Japanese negation promised to provide some insight into these issues.

Previous Research on JSL

In the past five years a new body of research on the acquisition of Japanese L2 has begun to emerge, providing a new source of data and information to the field of second language acquisition. Recent studies include investigations of the acquisition of Japanese case particles (Doi & Yoshioka, 1990; Sakamoto, 1993; Yagi, 1992), reflexives (Thomas, 1994), and complementizer phrases (Kaplan, 1993). There are also studies focusing on attrition of Japanese in children and adults, including the loss of negation (Hansen-Strain, 1993; forthcoming). However, to this researcher's knowledge, no research has been carried out on the L2 acquisition of negation in Japanese. It is hoped that this study, by examining a previously unknown aspect of Japanese L2, will contribute to a greater understanding of how Japanese is acquired by instructed learners.

Research Questions

Previous L2 research has established the fact that learners, regardless of their L1, pass through common developmental stages in acquiring such features as questions and negation. Though individual rates of acquisition and eventual attainment may differ, learners seem to follow a common developmental route which is similar to that of L1 children. Since previous research on developmental sequences has been limited to English and Indo-European languages (mostly SVO), expanding the scope of research to include typologically dissimilar languages such as Japanese (SOV) can help strengthen or modify previous findings. The following questions are addressed:

1. Do classroom learners of Japanese follow a common developmental sequence in the acquisition of propositional negation?
2. Do classroom learners of Japanese follow developmental patterns of negation which are similar to those of Japanese children?

In the following section the literature on negation in L1 and L2 English, German, and Swedish will be reviewed briefly, followed by a summary of previous research on L1 negation in Japanese.

LITERATURE SURVEY

L1 and L2 Negation in Indo-European Languages

There is an extensive body of research on L1 and L2 acquisition of negation in English, German, and Swedish, and other European languages. At beginning stages of learning English, it has been documented that learners, regardless of L1 background, commonly employ the preverbal 'no + verb' pattern to construct negative utterances (Cancino, Rosansky, & Schumann, 1978; Schachter, 1986; Stauble, 1984). Similarly, beginning learners of German (Eubank, 1987; Meisel, Clahsen & Pienemann, 1981; Wode, 1978) and Swedish (Hyltenstam, 1977) sometimes place the negator in preverbal position, though both languages require postverbal placement of negators in main clauses. At later stages of development, most learners begin to fine-tune their internal hypotheses, placing the negator before or after the verb according to its main or subordinate clause status.[3] These studies show that although there are individual differences in rate and level of language acquisition, learners basically proceed through common developmental routes in negation patterns. Furthermore, it has been shown that adult learners' negation patterns are very similar to the development of the negative construction in L1 children.

While the above studies focused only on verb negation, it is important to note that in Japanese, learners must differentiate negation rules for three predicate categories (verb, adjective, and nominal) as well as several politeness levels. Thus, we might expect that L2 Japanese learners will exhibit somewhat more complex patterns in expressing the negative than do learners of English and other Indo-European languages.[4] On the other hand, if learners' negation production is similar to Japanese children, we can expect some degree of systematicity in their interlanguage. We now turn to a brief review of some research on the emergence of negation in Japanese children.

L1 Negation in Japanese Children

Table 1 represents a proposed sequence for the emergence of negation in Japanese children beginning with the two-word stage based on data taken from Clancy (1985). Initially, Japanese children use one form of NEG, unanalyzed *nai*, attaching it externally to all predicates in nonpast or past tense. Later, they begin utilizing several more unanalyzed negators, again in post-predicate position. The third phase represents a transition in which negators and negated elements are analyzed into their parts (i.e., negative morpheme *-na-* is suffixed to predicate roots, preceding tense marker *-i* (nonpast) or *-ta* (past). It should be noted that the L1 research does not report any instances of pre-verbal or pre-predicate negation construction by Japanese children, in contrast to the pre-verbal negation so characteristic of the beginning stages of acquisition of English and other European languages.[5]

Table 1: Developmental Sequence of Propositional Negation in L1 Japanese

Negator	Verb	Adjective	Nominal
I. Unanalyzed	**predicate + 'nai'**		
	nonpast		
nai *	taberu-nai	*akai-nai	*hon-nai
	(I) eat not	(It) red not	(It) book not
			*kiree-nai
			(It) pretty not
	past		
	*tabeta-nai	*akakat-ta-nai	*kiree-datta-nai
	(I) ate not	(It) red-was not	(It)pretty-was not
II Unanalyzed	**predicate + various unanalyzed negators**		
	nonpast		
nai *	taberu-zya-nai	*akai-ku-nai	*hon-da-zya nai
zya-nai	(I) eat not	(It) red not	(It) is book not
ku-nai			
			*kiree-ku-nai
			(It) pretty not
	past		
	*tabe-ta-zya-nai	*akakat-ta-ku-nai	(no examples
	(I) ate not	(It) red-was not	given in data)
	*tabe-nai (in past context)		
	(I) eat not		

* usage does not follow adult standard

Table 1: Developmental Sequence of Propositional Negation in L1 Japanese (con't.)

Negator	**Verb**	**Adjective**	**Nominal**
IIIa Analyzed predicate + nonpast negator 'nai'			
V-nai	tabe-nai	aka-ku-nai	hon-zya-nai
Aku-nai	(I) don't eat	(It) isn't red	(It) isn't a book
N-zya-nai			
			kiree-zya-nai
			(It) isn't pretty
IIIb Analyzed predicate + past negator 'nakatta'			
V-nakatta	tabe-nakat-ta	aka-ku-nakat-ta	hon-zya-nakat-ta
Aku-nakatta	(I) didn't eat	(It) wasn't red	(It)wasn't a book
N-zya-nakatta			
			kiree-zya-nakat-ta
			(It) wasn't pretty

Based on data from Clancy (1985)

As for the question of how negation emerges according to predicate category, researchers agree that children generally master verb negation first and adjective negation last (Clancy, 1985). Noun negation also appears early, some time before adjective negation.

Based on the findings for Japanese L1 and from informal observation of classroom learners of Japanese, it is predicted that adult L2 learners, like children, will have the most difficulty acquiring adjective negation. Overall, it is predicted that learners will follow a similar route as children, using unanalyzed negators initially and showing a differential order of acquisition of negation by predicate category (verb, nominal, and adjectival). Additionally, while children's utterances are in the informal or plain style, we can expect learners to use the style they are first exposed to in the classroom—usually the formal style with predicates ending in *-des-u* or *-mas-u* in nonpast tense.

THE STUDY

The original study was designed to combine longitudinal and cross-sectional approaches, following a group of subjects at three proficiency levels for an academic year. In this paper results obtained from beginning level learners only are discussed. For results from intermediate and advanced subjects, see Kanagy (1991).

Subjects

Placement into levels

As displayed in Table 2, twelve subjects enrolled in beginning Japanese at two different universities in the U.S. were recruited for the study. Their native tongues were English, Korean, Chinese, French, Punjabi, and Tagalog; however, all were also sufficiently fluent in English to enable them to handle college courses.[6] The twelve subjects were divided into two groups according to the amount of their exposure to Japanese at their respective institutions. The seven 'low beginning' subjects were enrolled in a non-intensive, three-hour weekly course, while the five 'high beginners' had more than twice as many hours (eight) of exposure to Japanese weekly. When the study began four weeks into the school year, it appeared that the high beginners, based on the first interview, were somewhat more proficient in spoken Japanese than were the low beginners.

Placement into groups was determined by number of hours of prior classroom study rather than by means of a standardized test. This was felt to be appropriate for the purposes of this study because: 1) being in a foreign language setting, subjects' exposure to Japanese was largely limited to the classroom, and 2) at the time the data were being gathered no standardized test of Japanese comparable to the TOEFL was available.

Table 2: Japanese L2 Subjects by Placement Level

Group	Course Name	Hours/Week	n Subjects
Low-Beginning	First-year Japanese	3	7
High-Beginning (Intensive)	First-year Japanese	8	5

n = 12

Hours of instruction

Table 3 compares the number of cumulative hours of instruction each group received at each bi-monthly interview over an academic year. As evident in the table, the study was designed to be both cross-sectional and longitudinal in order to capture the development of negation over time: Low beginners had 20 hours when the study commenced and 75 hours by the end of the study, which is close to the number of hours high beginners received by their second interview (i.e., 90 hrs.). By the fourth and last interview, high beginners had 180 classroom hours, over twice the number hours of instruction received by low beginners during the same period.

Table 3: Comparison of Approximate Cumulative Hours of Japanese Instruction Received by Each Group at Each Interview Time

Group	Time: 1	2	3	4
Low-Beginning	20 hrs.	35 hrs.	50 hrs.	75 hrs.
High-Beginning	40 hrs.	90 hrs.	130 hrs.	180 hrs.

Teacher input

Low and high beginners differed in terms of the instructional approach used by the teachers in their respective classrooms. Low beginners were not assigned any textbook; instead, the teacher stressed primarily oral input, directing students to perform actions and manipulate objects through spoken commands. Periodically, the instructor gave students vocabulary lists and reviewed what was presented in class, but with little explicit grammar instruction. At the end of the first semester (45 hours of instruction), the teacher outlined on the board rules for affirmative and negative constructions of verbs, adjectives, and nominals in Japanese. It should be noted that this teacher used mostly informal style speech with the students (i.e., *-nai-desu* endings for adjectival and nominal negations, but the formal *-masen* pattern for verb negations).

In contrast to the low beginners, the high beginners were enrolled in a grammar-based course with pattern drills and explanations in class. During week two of the fall semester students were introduced to Japanese verb negation rules in the formal style (i.e., V-*masen*, non-past; and V-*masen desita*, past). Instruction on formal style adjective and nominal negation (A-*ku-arimasen*, N-*zya-arimasen*) came in week three. Data gathering for the study began about six weeks into the semester, after all the formal negation patterns were presented. High beginners were instructed in informal style negation rules in mid-November, before the second interview.

Thus, it was expected that high beginners would express negation in the formal style initially, and the informal style later on, following a typical syllabus for beginning Japanese courses. Low beginners were expected to diverge from this pattern somewhat, as they were exposed to mostly informal input from the teacher. However, as the purpose of this study was to examine the development of negative constructions rather than the acquisition of informal and informal style speech, formality levels will be noted only when relevant to the discussion.

Materials and Procedures

The instrument used to gather oral production data consisted of 30 pictures and questions designed to elicit both affirmative and negative responses. Learners were told that the purpose of the study was to investigate conversational development in Japanese. Twenty-minute interviews of each subject were carried out at approximately eight week intervals and tape-recorded for later transcription and analysis.

Figure 1 below lists sample questions and standard negative responses for three predicate types: verbal (V), nominal (N), and adjectival (A). At the first and fourth interviews, the same pictures and questions were used, changing the order of presentation; in interviews 2 and 3 different sets of pictures were used. The elicitation instrument was designed such that the questions would be comprised of approximately one-third each of the three predicate categories.

Figure 1: Sample Interview Questions Used with Pictures Covering Three Predicate Categories. (FOR=formal style, INF=informal style, S=subject)

1.	Koohii o nomimasu ka **(V)**	'Do (you) drink coffee?'
	S: Iie, nomi-**masen** (FOR)	'No, (I) **don't** drink (it)'
	Iie, noma-**nai** (INF)	
2.	Kuruma desu ka **(N)**	'Is (it) a car?'
	S: Iie, kuruma-**zya-arimasen** (FOR)	'No, (it) **isn't** a car'
	Iie, kuruma-**zya-nai** (INF)	
3.	Ookii-desu-ka **(A)**	'Is (it) big?'
	S: Iie, ooki-**ku-arimasen** (FOR)	'No, (it) **isn't** big'
	Iie, ooki-**ku-nai** (INF)	

As noted above, beginning learners of Japanese usually speak formal style Japanese, the level typically introduced first in beginning Japanese courses. The low beginners in the study were an exception since they were exposed primarily to informal speech from their teacher. However, because differences in politeness levels are not a focus of this study, learner responses are coded on the basis of predicate types and negation patterns without regard to formality level. Thus, in the following tables and figures quantifying groups results, (formal) V-*masen* includes (informal) V-*nai*; likewise, (informal) A-*ku-nai* and N-*zya-nai* include instances of (formal) A-*ku-arimasen* and N-*zya-arimasen*, respectively.

Analysis was carried out on both individual data and combined group data to determine: 1) forms of negators used at each interview, 2) placement of negators and tense markers relative to negated elements, and 3) percentage of utterances containing negators appropriate to that predicate context. Results are discussed below.

RESULTS

In this section the results obtained from beginning level L2 subjects in the study are presented, followed by a comparison of findings to L1 Japanese negation.

The Case of Subject 1

At the first interview, some low beginning learners utilized a single negating device such as -*nai(desu)* to form negative responses, regardless of predicate category. Most beginners showed evidence of two or three negating devices in their utterances. Subject 1 is representative of the latter, in that he used three main negation patterns at first. In Figure 2.1, six of his negative responses at interview one are excerpted and predicate types marked as V, A, N, or NA (nominal adjective).[7] This subject uses -*zya-nai* most frequently, as an unanalyzed NEG device in all predicate environments (A in response 2 and 6, NA in 8, V in 10). In 18, he attempts to reply in the past tense by placing a negator -*sen* (probably derived from the standard -*masen*) externally to the past inflected verb *simasita* .

Figure 2.1: Subject 1 (Low-Beginner), Interview 1

pred.
type Q#

A *2. Ooki-i-**zya-na-i-desu**.
big NEG-NONP-FOR
'It isn't big'

N *5. Iie...um on- onnazi onazi onazi-**ku-na- ku-na-i-desu**
No sa- same same same NE- NEG-NONP-FOR
'No, It's not the same'

A *6. Iie, furu-i-zy**a-na-i-desu**.
No old NEG-NONP-FOR
'No, it isn't old'

NA 8. Iie, kiree-**zya-na-i-desu.**
No, pretty NEG-NONP-FOR
'No, she isn't pretty'

V *10. Iie, ta- um tab- tabe-**zya-na-i-desu**.
No, ea- ea- eat NEG-NONP-FOR
'No, I didn't eat it'

V *18. Aah, iie, um, simasita-**sen**?
uh no do PAST-NEG
'No, I didn't do it'

Figure 2.2: Subject 1 (Low-Beginner), Interview 4
(7 months later)

pred.
type Q#

A 2. Iie ooku-**na-i-desu**, tiisai-desu.
no big[sic]NEG-NONP-FOR small-FOR
'It isn't big, it's small'

N *5. uh ona- onazi-**ku-na-i-desu**.
sa- same NEG-NONP-FOR
'Uh, it's not the same'

A 6. um furu-**ku-na-i-desu**.
old NEG-NONP-FOR
'Uh, it isn't old'

NA*8. uh, kiree-**ku-na-i**.
pretty NEG-NONP
'Uh, she isn't pretty'

V 10. Iie, tabe-**masen**.
No, eat NEG-NONP-FOR
'No, I don't eat it'

V *18. Oh, oh si- simas- simasi- **ta-sen**, wakari**masen**.
do do do PAST-NEG know-NEG
'Oh oh I didn't do it'

Results for the same subject at interview 4 (approximately six months later) are excerpted in Figure 2.2. This time the learner successfully applies the adjective negation pattern *-ku-nai* to two A predicates in 2 and 6, but overgeneralizes the negator to N/NA (5 and 8) environments as well. He uses *-masen* to negate a verb appropriately in 10 although in 18 the tense-negator ordering is still reversed.

Figure 2.3 displays graphically the relative proportion of each device used by subject 1 in his negative expressions at the four interviews, at approximately two month intervals. There is a change over time in both kind and number of negation patterns used: *-zya-nai* is most frequently used at time 1, followed by A and V negators (*ku-nai* and *-masen*), and a few instances of unanalyzed *-nai*. Six months later *-zya-nai* appears proportionally less often than at time 1, while *ku-nai* and *-masen* become more productive; each of the three patterns occur in roughly one-third of the negative responses, although not necessarily with the appropriate predicate. Next, combined results for all seven low beginners are presented and compared to the five high beginners.

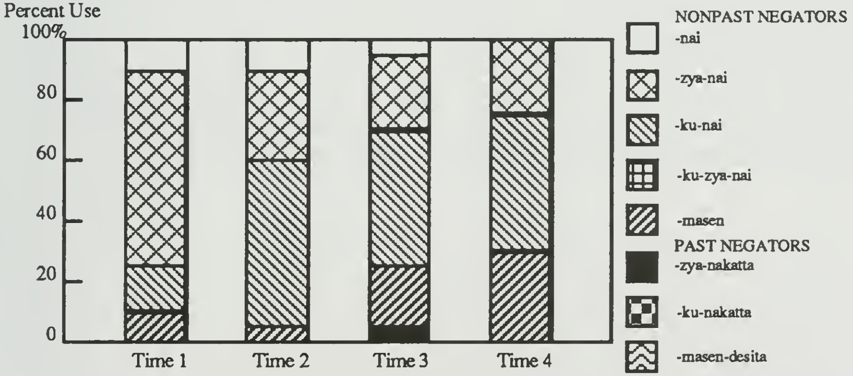

Figure 2.3: Changes in Japanese Negation Patterns Over Four Interview Times: Low-Beginner, Subject 1

Summary of Forms of Negators Used by Beginning Learners

In order to create a clearer picture of negation patterns used by two groups of beginning JSL learners, percentages were calculated in terms of the relative proportion of each pattern used in negative utterances at the first and last interviews. Results are displayed graphically in Figure 3. As a group, we see that low beginners initially negate the greatest number of predicates with *-zya-nai* (the N pattern), in fully 50% of their combined utterances. A number of subjects employ unanalyzed *-nai* in their responses at time 1, totaling 25% of their utterances—recall that this is similar to Japanese children's early negative constructions, discussed above. Over a six month period, the use of unanalyzed *-nai* gradually diminishes, with a corresponding increase in *-masen* and *-ku-nai* type negations. At this point low beginners as a group employ three non-past negators in their utterances, but almost no past-tense negation forms.

High beginners' negative constructions (right half of Figure 3) are more complex, due to the greater number of negation forms used. At time 1 they utilize four non-past and two past-tense devices, one of which seems to be a non-standard combination of the N and A negation patterns (*-ku-zya-nai*). This form almost disappears six months later, while the five standard forms continue to be used. The greater variety of negation patterns produced by high beginners is not surprising if we recall that they had received approximately 40 hours of instruction when the study began, compared to only 20 hours for low beginners.

Viewing Figure 3 from left to right as a time line, we can postulate a possible sequence of negation patterns typical of in beginning JSL learners over one year (i.e., combining the two six-month periods). We can expect initial reliance on unanalyzed -nai as negator to decrease in the first six months of instruction, but not to disappear entirely (note its occurrence in some high beginners' responses at time 4). In addition, we can predict that past-tense negation patterns will become productive later than non-past forms, as low beginners produced very few past negation patterns during the study.

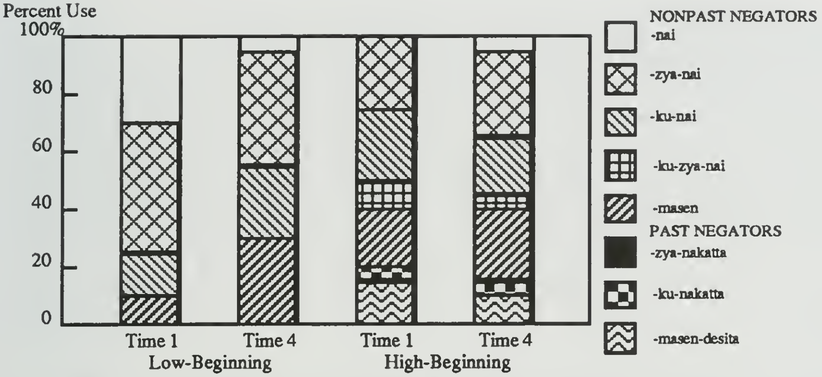

Figure 3: Comparison of Negation Patterns at Times 1 and 4 by Low Beginning (n=7) and High-Beginning (n=5) Learners of Japanese

Emergence of Negation According to Predicate Category

Another aspect of the emergence of negation in Japanese L2 involves how negation develops within each predicate environment: V, A, and N (including both nouns and nominal adjectives). Given the fact that standard Japanese negation rules differ according to type of predicate, it was thought that differences might emerge in which predicate category was first or last to be provided with analyzed negation (i.e., where the negating device is specific to that environment). Occurrences of context-specific negation in each predicate type were quantified as the percentage of time a predicate was negated appropriately.

Figures 4.1 displays results for low beginners. At the beginning of the study N negations are most often produced in the standard pattern (60% of the time) followed by V (43%), with A predicates least likely to be negated appropriately (only 4% of the time). Four months later (time 3), the gap between N and V closes and each type of utterance contains the category-specific negator 70% of the time. By time 4 low beginners' production of context-appropriate negation of V (at 82%) surpasses N (68%). Their A utterances, however, contained few A-specific negators, reaching only a 30% rate at the end of the study. Results indicate that in these subjects, adjectival predicates are least likely to be negated with the appropriate form (*-ku-nai*) compared to N and V predicates. Considering an 80% suppliance rate as the criterion indicating acquisition of a particular structure, V emerges as the first predicate category in which negation is mastered by this group of learners.

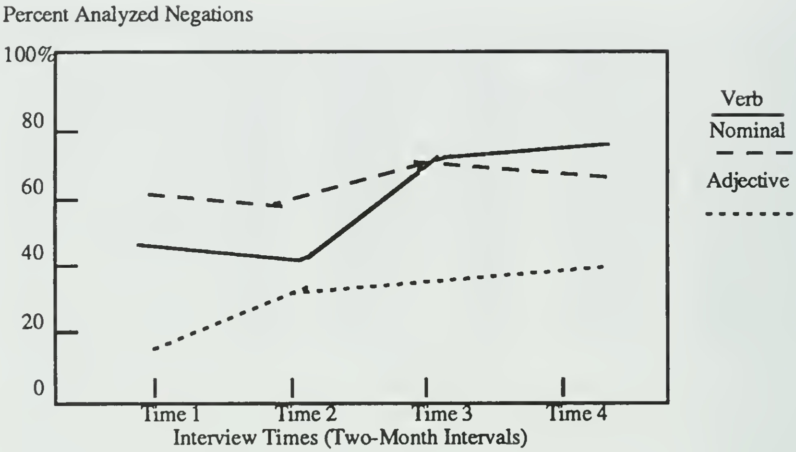

Figure 4.1: Changes in Percentage of Analyzed Negations of Predicates V, N, and A at Times 1 to 4: Low-Beginning Learners of Japanese (n=7)

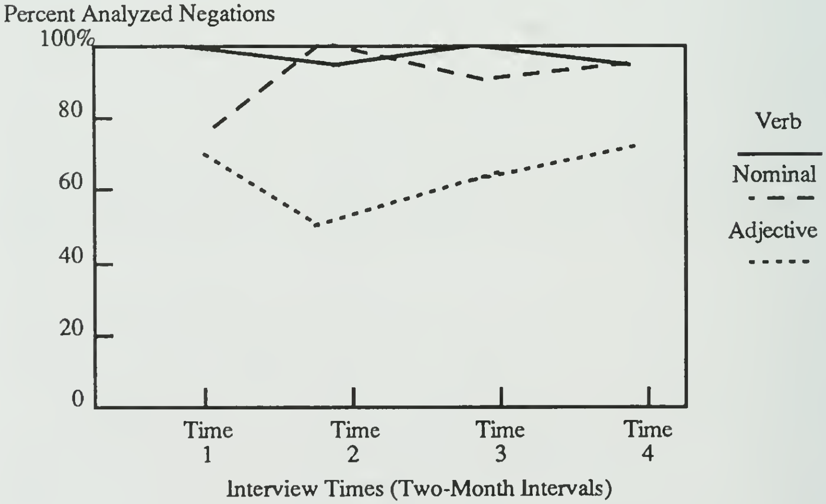

Figure 4.2: High-Beginning Learners of Japanese (n=5)

At time 1 in Figure 4.2, high beginners demonstrate that they have already acquired V negation in that they use *-masen* (or its informal equivalent) close to 100% of the time when negating V predicates. In N utterances, negation with *-zya-nai* increases from 77% initially to 96% at time 2, indicating mastery. By contrast, their production of context-appropriate A negations actually decreases from 74% at time 1 to 56% at time 2, rising again to just 67% at the final interview. Thus, in both low and high beginners, A-specific negation fails to reach 80%, indicating a longer developmental period than for V and N negation.

Comparison of the Development of Negation in L1 vs. L2 Japanese

Table 4 is a proposed sequence of development for Japanese negation in L2 learners along with the sequence outlined in Table 1 for L1 children. It should be noted that the examples under Japanese L2 are actual utterances gathered in this study (including some from intermediate and advanced learners, not discussed here), while the L1 examples are from the literature on Japanese L1 acquisition. Horizontal lines separating phases I, II, and III are not meant to mark a rigid division into 'stages' but to suggest the route most learners appear to pass through while learning to express negation in Japanese.

Table 4: Development of Negation in Japanese L1 and L2

Negator	Japanese L1	Japanese L2	Negator
I Unanalyzed	**Predicate + 'Nai'**		
Nonpast	*tabe-ru-nai (V) eat-NONP-NEG	*ikimasu-nai-desu go-NEG-FOR	
nai			*nai-desu*
	*aka-i-nai (A) red-NONP-NEG	*yasu-i-nai-desu cheap-NONP-NEG-FOR	
	*hon-nai (N) book-NEG	*kuruma-nai-desu car-NEG-FOR	
Past			
	*tabe-ta-nai (V) eat-PAST-NEG	*yokat-ta-nai-desu (A) good-PAST-NEG-FOR	

Table 4: Development of Negation in Japanese L1 and L2 (con't.)

Negator	Japanese L1	Japanese L2	Negator
II Unanal/Modified Predicate + Various Unanalyzed Negators			
Nonpast	*tabe-ru-zya-nai (V)	*yome-ku-nai-desu	
zya-nai	eat- NEG	can read-NEG-FOR	*ku-nai-desu*
	*aka-i-ku-nai (A)	*aka-i-zya-arimasen	
ku-nai	red- NEG	red- NEG-FOR	*zya-arimasen*
	*kiree-ku-na-i (NA)	*kiree-ku-nai-desu	
	pretty-NEG	pretty-NEG-FOR	*ku-zya-nai-desu*
		*oisi-ku-zya-nai-desu (A)	
		tasty-NEG-FOR	
Past			
	*tabe-ta-zya-nai (V)	*tabe-masita-mase-n	
	eat-PAST-NEG	eat-PAST- NEG-FOR	*masen*
	*naka-nai (V)	*kirei nari-ku-nai-desu (NA)	
nai	cry- NEG	clean become-NEG-FOR	
III Analyzed Predicate + 'Nai'/'Nakatta'			
Nonpast	tabe-na-i (V)	tabe-mase-n	
nai	eat- NEG-NONP	eat- FOR-NEG	*masen*
	aka-ku-na-i (A)	aka-ku-arimase-n	
	red- NEG-NONP	red FOR-NEG	*arimasen*
	kiree-zya-na-i (NA)	natu-zya-arimase-n (N)	
	pretty- NEG-NONP	summer- FOR-NEG	
Past			
	tabe-nakat-ta (V)	tabe-mase-n-desita	
nakatta	eat- NEG-PAST	eat- FOR-NEG-PAST	*masen-desita*
			arimasen-desita
	aka-ku-nakat-ta (A)	aka-ku-arimase-n-desita	
	red- NEG-PAST	red- FOR-NEG-PAST	
	kiree-zya-nakat-ta(NA)	kiree-zya-nakat-ta-desu	
	pretty- NEG-PAST	pretty- NEG-PAST-FOR	

As outlined in Table 4, negative constructions by learners are quite similar to those of Japanese children in both forms and placement of negators. For example, in phase I both learners and children produce post-predicate negations, attaching an unanalyzed negator in sentence final position (e.g., *aka-i-nai* 'is red NEG,' by children and *yasu-i-nai-desu* 'is cheap NEG,' by learners). This phenomenon occurs in past tense negations as well, with *-nai* (*desu*) suffixed to past inflected predicates: Learners may say *yokat-ta-nai-desu* 'was good NEG', while the adult native standard would be *yo-ku-nakat-ta-desu* 'good NEG was,' suffixing the past-inflected negator to the predicate root. In phase II, the predicate is unanalyzed or modified with various NEGs attached, while phase III negations are fully analyzed constructions with NEG before the tense marker, as in native speaker speech.

When comparing L1 and L2 Japanese negative constructions, a number of differences are also apparent. For example, L2 learners seem to overgeneralize some negating devices (e.g., *-ku-zya-nai*) to a greater extent than do L1 children. And though both children and learners utilize the one negator strategy in phase I, learners in phase II appear to use a greater number of negating devices (four) than do children (three). By phase III, most learners are able to handle both formal and informal style negations, while young Japanese children produce mostly informal negative constructions, with the formal style acquired later.

CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

The results reported in the previous section provide clear evidence that the ability to express propositional negation in Japanese L2 does not come all at once, but is a gradual, step-by-step process. In the beginning, some learners use one negator in all environments, attaching it to unanalyzed inflected predicate forms. Other learners use two or three negating devices, though not always in the appropriate predicate context. When learners are able to analyze negated predicates and negating elements into their parts, they begin producing native-like negative constructions consisting of a predicate stem followed by negator and nonpast or past tense marker.

In terms of the predicate category supplied with context-appropriate negation first or last, Japanese children reportedly master verbal negation relatively early and adjectival negation last (Clancy, 1985). Although low beginners in this study appeared to be further developed in nominal negation initially (60% supplied with appropriate negator) as compared to verb negation (43% appropriate), verb negation was mastered (over 80%) by the last interview. The high beginners had already acquired V negation when the study began, with N negation also close to the 80% acquisition mark. However, neither group of learners showed mastery of A negation during the time they were being studied. This result parallels A negation development in Japanese children.

To sum up, our results reveal at least two developmental changes during the acquisition of Japanese negative constructions by learners: 1) an increase from fewer to more negating devices used over time and 2) an ordering in terms of the predicate environment in which negation is acquired first (verbal and nominal before adjectival). These results are significant in that we have been able to demonstrate that: 1) L2 learners of Japanese exhibit common developmental sequences in acquiring negation, as previously shown in learners of English and other Indo-European languages; and 2) the developmental route of negation for L2 learners is remarkably similar to that for L1 Japanese children. These findings are discussed further in the next section, with reference to second language acquisition research and Japanese language pedagogy.

Significance for second language acquisition research

Being one of the first studies on the acquisition of negation in Japanese L2, the results are preliminary. Nevertheless, a number of implications can be drawn. First, the study provides evidence for a common developmental sequence in negation in an Asian language typologically dissimilar to English-type languages. This lends support to previous claims for developmental sequences based on Indo-European languages only. Secondly, we have seen that pre-verbal negation, so common in beginning learners of English and related languages, does not occur in learners of Japanese: Our subjects produced no instances of pre-verbal (or pre-predicate) negation which, if they had, would violate the post-predicate placement rule of NEG in Japanese. Instead, learners seem to quickly discover that negation occurs in suffix position in Japanese, although at first they have trouble deciding whether NEG should follow the inflected predicate or its altered form. The fact that both learners and children exhibit a post-predicate negation pattern in Japanese may be indicative of the strength of language typology in L2 acquisition and bears further investigation.[8]

Significance for Japanese language pedagogy

The fact that Japanese learners follow a clear developmental sequence in negation should interest classroom teachers seeking to understand how learners change over time in their ability to form negative expressions. Given the gradual, step by step process of development and a different rate of acquisition in the three predicate categories, teachers may discover a more effective way of introducing negation rules gradually, rather than in one or two consecutive lessons. This, in turn, carries potential applications for formulating a more effective pedagogical syllabus for teaching negation and other structures in Japanese.

Teachers may also wish to reconsider how and when to correct learner 'errors' in the classroom in view of the fact that learner interlanguage has its own internal 'clock' or time line, which may or may not be amenable to change. There is evidence that drilling students repeatedly on structures which they are not developmentally ready to produce may, in fact, cause them to avoid difficult structures or randomly select from among several forms. In our data, for example, beginning subjects sometimes 'tried out' two or more negation devices in the same utterance:[9]

> oh tea, coffee-*nai-desu*, tya-desu, coffee-*zya-nai-desu*.
> NEG-NONP-FOR tea is NEG-NONP-FOR
> 'Oh tea, coffee isn't, it's tea, it isn't coffee'

In this instance, the second version using *-zya-nai-desu* is the standard nominal negation, while the first is not. The juxtaposition of two different negation patterns perhaps signals a transition from the phase I unanalyzed *-nai-desu* utterances to the phase II and III ability to distinguish among predicate categories and use the appropriate negator. As further evidence of developmental change, the same student later voiced her uncertainty as to which negator was appropriate for the predicate, saying:

> 'taka*ku-nai-desu*, takai- *zya-nai-desu*, oh it's one of those.'
> expensive NEG-FOR, expensive NEG-FOR
> 'It's not expensive, not expensive, oh it's one of those'

Here the first attempt, A-*ku-nai-desu*, happens to be the native A-negation pattern (phase III), while the second try not only contains the 'wrong' negation pattern (i.e., the nominal one), NEG is suffixed to the inflected A (*taka-i*) form rather than to the appropriate stem form (*taka-*). The learner's remark in English signals her awareness that her negation system is still in flux; apparently, her strategy for constructing negatives at this point is: if in doubt, try several variations and hope that one is right

Another piece of evidence supporting the notion of an internal developmental time line has to do with beginning learners' initial avoidance of past tense negation, by substituting nonpast constructions or by suffixing NEG to the past tense predicate. Recall subject 1's reply in #18 in Figures 2.1 and 2.2 in response to the interviewer's question:

> Simasi*ta*-ka
> do PAST-Q
> Did you do it? [pointing to a picture of a broken cup]

Both times the learner repeats the predicate form presented in the question, suffixing his version of V-NEG *-masen* to negate it:

...simasi*ta-sen*
do PAST-NEG
I didn't do it

He avoids past-inflecting NEG by attaching it externally to the past-inflected predicate. In our study, learners produce phase III past tense negation only after they could analyze predicate stems, tense markers, and formality indicators and put them in the correct order.

In addition to respecting each learner's developmental time line, there are also pragmatic reasons linking the ability to appropriately express negation with Japanese language pedagogy. We know that in order to achieve communicative competence in interacting with Japanese native-speakers in various situations, learners must be taught that invitations, offers, and requests in Japanese are often carried out using negative constructions. For example, invitations to accompany the speaker to a certain place are most commonly phrased *iki-masen-ka* 'Won't you go [with me]?' or its honorific equivalent, rather than the typical English 'Would you like to go?' or 'Will you go with me?' Learners unaware of such sociolinguistic conventions may experience difficulty both in initiating and responding to such situations with Japanese interlocutors. In addition, what constitutes an appropriate response to negative questions in Japanese contrasts with English, and these pragmatic rules should be presented to Japanese language learners.

Suggestions for Future Research

As one of the first investigations of Japanese L2 negation, the findings of the present study were based on a small number of subjects (twelve beginners) and a relatively short time period (one academic year). In order to support or modify the results discussed above, further research with more subjects and using different elicitation techniques is needed. In this regard, a recent study by Hansen-Strain (1993) examining the attrition of Japanese negation in young learners is informative. In addition, future studies taking into consideration such factors such as learners' L1 background and psycho-social factors may provide some clues to the variation in negation production found among individuals at similar points of development. In addition, the acquisition of negation should be investigated along with other features such as affirmation, tense, aspect, and modality in Japanese L2, so that we can understand how negation emerges in the context of other structures. Since relatively few empirical studies have been conducted to date on non-European L2s such as Japanese, further research on the above topics can provide new cross-linguistic evidence for language learning which can inform our present understanding of second language acquisition processes.

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NOTES

[1] More precisely, subjects in this study are learning Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) because they are being instructed outside the target culture. However, for the purposes of this paper I use JSL as a broad term covering both JFL and JSL learning/acquisition.

[2] Polite adult equivalents are: verbal (V-*nai-desu*/-*masen*), nominal (N-*zya-nai-desu*/-*zya-arimasen*), and adjectival (A-*ku-nai-desu*/-*ku-arimasen*). Strictly speaking, morphemes -*zya* and -*ku* (which occur with nominals and adjectives, respectively) are not part of the negative morpheme -*na-i*; however, learners in this study were found to employ these forms as 'unanalyzed chunks,' thus, they are treated as part of learners' interlanguage system of negation. For a linguistic analysis of Japanese negation, see Kuno (1978) and McGloin (1986).

[3] German speakers must learn to distinguish negation rules according to context (i.e., main clause vs. subordinate clause, and main verb vs. Aux.). Children and learners initially exhibit variable placement of NEG in German utterances until the restrictions are learned. This is in some ways similar to the task Japanese children and learners face—that is, learning different negation patterns according to V, N and A predicate categories.

[4] No differential order of acquisition of negation according to predicate environment has been shown to emerge in English, since English L1/L2 research generally links the emergence of negation to the development of verb morphology and word order. However, Schachter (1986) includes an analysis of negation in N and PP (prepositional phrase) contexts and found that the *no* + constituent pattern of negation appears in all contexts initially.

[5] Unlike children acquiring Indo-European languages, Japanese children were not found to vary placement of NEG before and after the negated element (predicate), even in the earliest phases. This may be indicative of the constraints of language typology on the route of negation development in Japanese, English, German, and other languages. Further cross-linguistic research is needed in order to determine the degree of influence of language typology and markedness conditions on the development of negation in various languages.

[6] Influence of subjects' L1 on the acquisition of Japanese was not examined in this study for several reasons: The number of subjects in each L1 was too few to form a meaningful sample; additionally, the impact of English as an L2 among non-English subjects was difficult to determine, as their age of first exposure to English ranged widely from infancy to the teens.

[7] Nominal adjectives and nominals follow the same negation pattern and are grouped together in displaying and discussing the results.

[8] Research on negation in German L2 reports pre-verbal NEG placement to be common among beginning learners, though later they learn that German requires post-verbal placement in main clauses.

[9] In such cases of 'self-correction,' the first utterance was counted in coding data.

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The Multiple Functions of *Sumimasen*

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This study will provide a fuller account of the functions of ***sumimasen****, one of the expressions used for both apology and thanks in everyday Japanese conversation. In order to accurately explain these functions, it is necessary to carefully observe the different socio-cultural contexts in which this expression occurs. Hence, a database consisting of ten hours of daily conversation was used as the foundation for the study, with these ten hours of talk yielding a total of 44 tokens of* ***sumimasen****. This study will also attempt to relate* ***sumimasen*** *to other strategies for expressing apology and gratitude in Japanese and to examine whether certain values of Japanese society may be reflected through the usage of this expression.*

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to provide a fuller account of the functions of *sumimasen* through the examination of its usages in Japanese daily conversation. Previous studies have noted that *sumimasen* is used for expressing both gratitude and apology (e.g., Doi, 1973; Goldstein & Tamura, 1975; Lebra, 1976; Coulmas, 1981; Sakuma, 1983; Mizutani & Mizutani, 1987). However, these studies do not provide a clear explanation as to what elements of *sumimasen* make it possible to express both of these functions. Kumatoridani (1988, 1990, 1992), in his work on contrastive speech-act analysis, argues that the concept of "the shift of point of view" is the key to explaining why apologies in Japanese are performed in situations where thanks are appropriate. However, while Kumatoridani's studies provide an important perspective and help to elucidate the characteristics of Japanese expressions of apology and thanks, his hypotheses are based primarily on intuition and hypothetical contexts and, are therefore, in need of empirical support. In addition, the purpose of his studies was not to specifically explore *sumimasen* itself, but to examine the expressions and motivations of apology and thanks in Japanese society in general. Coulmas (1981, p. 82), characterizing *sumimasen* under the rubric of "routine formulae," mentions that *sumimasen* can be used as a general

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conversation opener, an attention getter, and a leave taking marker in addition to its function of expressing thanks and apology. One drawback of Coulmas' work, however, is that, like the other work mentioned, it is not based on actual discourse data.

The current study, drawing on Kumatoridani's (1988, 1990, 1992) and Coulmas' (1981) work, will demonstrate how extensively *sumimasen* functions in spontaneous discourse and will explore the core concept of *sumimasen*. This analysis furthers the investigation of *sumimasen* in relation to other expressions of apology and gratitude and will shed light on the importance of its role in public interactions in Japanese society.

Sumimasen, which is one of the many apologetic expressions in Japanese, is the polite negative form of the verb *sumu*. According to the *Koojien* dictionary (Shinmura, 1991), *sumu*, the dictionary form of *sumimasen*, is represented by the Chinese character 済む which means "to finish," "to be settled," or "to be satisfied." As is clear from these definitions, *sumimasen* does not contain any morphemic element of *ayamaru* or *wabiru* which both mean 'to apologize.' This suggests the likelihood that the essential meaning of *sumimasen* is something quite different from a literal apology. In fact, often the English counterpart of *sumimasen* is 'thank you,' thus highlighting the fact that *sumimasen* has also been characterized as an expression of gratitude.

This dual nature of *sumimasen* could be considered one of the causes of cross-cultural misunderstandings between Americans and Japanese. For example, English speakers find it difficult to understand why Japanese say "I'm sorry" in situations when the appropriate response is actually "thank you." Many foreigners living in Japan seem to realize that *sumimasen* is not a direct equivalent of "I'm sorry" or "excuse me," yet few actually use this expression correctly across its range of potential uses. As for Japanese speakers, there have been many instances where they confuse the occasions for using "I'm sorry" and "excuse me" in English. Previous studies (Goldstein & Tamura, 1975; Loveday, 1982; Sakamoto & Naotsuka, 1982; Kindaichi, 1988; Wakiyama, 1990) have examined these particular problems in depth, and all provide relevant examples of misunderstandings or communicative gaps caused precisely by these differences in apology strategies between Americans and Japanese. However, none has fully succeeded in actually explaining the dual functions of *sumimasen* in the contexts of both gratitude and apology.

Several studies on apologies in English (Goffman, 1971; Owen, 1980; Fraser, 1981) have offered some interesting perspectives. Goffman (1971), in particular, views apologies as one type of "'remedial interchange,' an action taken to change what might be seen as an offensive act into an acceptable one" (p. 90), which is one aspect of 'interpersonal rituals' (p. 63). In accordance with R. Ide (1992) the consideration of *sumimasen* as an instance of Goffman's (1971) "interpersonal rituals" illuminates its interactional characteristics. Other studies conducted from a cross-cultural perspective (e.g., Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Trosborg, 1987; Bulm-Kulka et al., 1989; Olshtain, 1989) employ a discourse completion test as their analytic tool; however, these studies do not offer enough clues for understanding the multiple functions of apologetic expressions, although this research does help to establish the fact that apology strategies are transferred from one language and culture to another.

Kumatoridani (1988, 1990, 1992) suggests that the shift in point of view is the key to understanding why apologies are performed in many situations where the giving of thanks is possible in Japanese. According to Kumatoridani, an interaction may be viewed as "favorable for the speaker" but "unfavorable for the addressee" (1988, p. 231). The speaker may see him/herself as the causer of the event which leads to an unfavorable situation for the addressee. Conversely, the speaker may see him/herself as the recipient of a favor which the addressee offers to the speaker. Kumatoridani claims that there is a shift in the point of view which treats "a favorable situation for the speaker" as "an unfavorable situation for the addressee" when thanks alternate with the speaker's feelings of apology. According to Kumatoridani, the shift occurs as a result of empathy and this operation is regarded as politeness behavior since more politeness is added through the operation of humbleness when the point of view shifts from the speaker to the addressee. The present paper will illustrate how Kumatoridani's notion of a shift in point of view operates in relation to the use of *sumimasen* in spontaneous interactive discourse.

THE DATA

The primary data used for this study is *Shufu no Isshuukan no Danwa Shiryo* (*One Week's Discourse Activity of a Housewife*) (Ide et al., 1984), which consists of a transcript of approximately ten hours of audio-recorded conversation between a housewife in Tokyo (Mrs. K), and some of the people with whom she interacted during the course of one week. Mrs. K, 49, is married to a white collar worker and has two daughters. She is an active PTA member and also teaches cooking at home. Mrs. K's encounters, as recorded in these data, range from her everyday conversations with her family and friends to conversations with a salesclerk or banker. The data include many tokens of *sumimasen* and other expressions of apology and thanks uttered by various speakers.

There are 44 total instances of *sumimasen* in this database, 41 of which were uttered by females and 3 by males. Of the 41 tokens uttered by women, 14 were said by Mrs. K The 44 tokens of sumimasen were then categorized according to the following: 1) Request marker, 2) Attention-getter, 3) Closing marker, 4) Regret marker,[1] and 5) Gratitude marker.

Two additional factors were also considered: whether *sumimasen* is located in the first pair part (1PP) or second pair part (2PP) of an adjacency pair (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974); and if it occurs as a second pair part, whether it is followed by any additional verbal response by the interlocutor.

FUNCTIONS AND SEQUENCES OF *SUMIMASEN*

The Five Functions

Request marker (8 tokens)

Sumimasen may be used when the speaker performs a request to or asks a favor of the addressee. Eight tokens of *sumimasen* were identified as request markers. Example (1) below illustrates this function:

(1) ((Mrs. K is at the copy shop and is speaking to the store owner))
1 Mrs. K: *A konnichiwa.* ***Suimasen.***[2] *Kopii o onegai shimasu.*
Ah, hello. I need some photocopies, please.

2 *Ichimaizutsu de ii'n desu keredo.*
Just one of each would be fine.

In line 1, *suimasen* precedes the speaker's request which can be considered as a "face threatening act" (Brown & Levinson, 1978, p. 65), since Mrs. K might be interrupting the store owner's work. Mrs. K's utterance of *suimasen* minimizes the imposition on the store owner, even though the interaction is taking place in the context of doing business. Aoki and Okamoto (1988) point out that *sumimasen ga* (i.e., *sumimasen* plus the concessive particle *ga*) is often used before expressing a request, and describe this expression as a sentential hedge. Example (1) demonstrates that *sumimasen* alone can also serve as a mitigating device.

Attention-getter (2 tokens)

Sumimasen functions as an attention-getter when the speaker uses it to start an interaction. Two such tokens were identified in the data. This function is exemplified in (2):

(2) ((In a department store))

1 Mrs. K: *Ano* ***suimasen*** *ano* ***suimasen****, ano kore no shiro naideshooka?*[3]
Excuse me, would you have this one in white?

2 Salesclerk: *Sono shiro wa. Gomennasai.*
The white ones are (we're all out of them). I'm sorry.

Closing marker (3 tokens)

While *sumimasen* is used to initiate an interaction, it can also trigger the closing of an interaction. *Sumimasen* in this function appears in three cases. The following example of *sumimasen* illustrates its function as a pre-closing marker (Sacks & Schegloff, 1973), initiating the closing of an interaction in order to leave a place.

(3) ((An insurance company representative has come to Mrs. K's home to collect the insurance premium))

1 Mrs. K: *Taihen ne atsui aida no shuukin wa.*
It must be hard to come out and collect money in this hot weather.

2 Insurance Rep: *Kyoo wa sukoshi (xxx) kedo.*
Today it's a little (better).

3 Mrs. K: *Ma kinoo yori wa ne.*
Well, (it is a little better) than yesterday, isn't it?

4 Insurance Rep: *Un.*
Yes.

5 Mrs. K: *Maa korekara doo naru ka wakaranai kedo.*
I have no idea how the weather will be from now on.

6 Insurance Rep: ***Hai suimasen deshita.***
Yes.

7 Mrs. K: ***Hai suimasen deshita.***
Yes.

8 Insurance Rep: *Doomo hai doomo.*
Thank you.

9 Mrs. K: *Otesuu kakemashita. Gokuroo sama.*
I have troubled you. Thank you.

Interestingly, Mrs. K responds by using the identical utterance in line 7 as her interlocutor used in line 6. Through a reciprocal exchange of *sumimasen* in closings, the conversational participants also display acknowledgment of their interlocutors' acts before they close the interaction.

Regret marker (20 tokens)

This function of *sumimasen* displays speakers regret for what they have done. There are 20 tokens from the data which function as a regret marker. Example (4) below illustrates this function:

(4) ((In a telephone conversation, Mrs. Yano asks Mrs. K to check on tickets for a school play))

1 Mrs. K: *Ano soremadeni ano shirabete mimasu ga.*
I will check (with the theater).

2 Mrs. Yano: *Hai.*
Yes.

3 Mrs. K: *Anoo.*
Well.

4 Mrs. Yano: *Otekazu kakete* ***suimasen*** *desu.*
I am sorry to cause you so much trouble.

5 Mrs. K: *A iie.*
No (it's no trouble).

In this excerpt, Mrs. Yano produces *sumimasen* as a device for expressing apology, explicitly mentioning the reason for her apology, that is to say, for imposing extra work on Mrs. K. Mrs. K then responds with a minimization, 'no,' in line 5.

Gratitude marker (11 tokens)

Sumimasen is used when the speaker shows gratitude for some action performed by the addressee where the speaker views him/herself as a causer of the trouble as well as recipient of some benefit. There are 11 tokens of this function.

(5) ((Mrs.K has invited Prof. Ito to her home for lunch))

1 Mrs. K: *Ma chotto okuchi yogoshini*
This is just a small meal.

2 Prof. Ito: *Maa* ***suimasen*** *nani kara nani made.*
Oh, thank you. (you have done) so much (for me).

3 Mrs. K: *Ano kawatta ano itadaki kata nande gozaimasu no.*
This food has been prepared in a unique way.

This is a clearcut example of the function of *sumimasen* as a gratitude marker. *Sumimasen* in line 2 shows the speaker's conception that what the addressee has done is more than what she expected. Prof. Ito views herself as the cause of trouble, even though Mrs. K is the hostess and perfectly willing to have cooked for her. In this case, no response by the addressee follows.

Sumimasen in example (6) displays the speaker's gratitude for the addressee's favor, tinged with the speaker's regret for being troublesome.

(6) ((Mrs.Tada has forgotten to bring her envelope containing her monthly payment of tuition for cooking school))

1 Mrs. K: *Kondo fukuro irete motte kite chanto nante*
You can bring the right envelope next time.

2 Mrs. Tada: *Sono hoo ga ii desu?*
Do you prefer it that way?

3 Mrs. K: *Sono hoo ga iiwa.*
I do prefer it that way.

4 Mrs. Tada: *Soo desu ka? Jya raishuu*
Do you? Then, (I will bring it) next week.

5 Mrs. K: *Hai.*
Yes.

6 Mrs. Tada: ***Suimasen.*** *Nanka nanka saisho no tsuki ni motte kuruno ga*
Thank you. We are supposed to bring it at the beginning of the month

7 Mrs. K: *Iie, doo itashimashite.*
No. That's OK.

8 Mrs. Tada: ***Suimasen*** *deshita.*
Thank you.

9 Mrs. K: *Fukuro wa kocchi ne.*
This is the envelope (that you're supposed to use).

In this interaction, using *sumimasen* in line 6, Mrs. Tada expresses her gratitude to Mrs. K for her understanding, since Mrs. Tada forgot to bring the correct envelope and her payment for the cooking school tuition will be late. Furthermore, the fact that Mrs. Tada adds an expansion which explicitly indicates that she knows she was wrong (*nanka nanka saisho no tsuki ni motte kuruno ga* 'we are supposed to bring it at the beginning of the month') shows that this token of *sumimasen* also implies her regret for not bringing the money which was due that day. Then, in line 8, Mrs. Tada responds to Mrs. K's minimization (*Iie, doo itashimashite.* 'No, that's OK') and again shows gratitude to Mrs. K through her utterance of *sumimasen deshita.* These examples of *sumimasen* illustrate that the speaker can at the same time demonstrate regret for being the source of trouble as well as appreciation for the addressee's understanding through the use of this one expression.

Sequence Organization of *Sumimasen*

Table 1: Sequential Position of *Sumimasen*

	1pp	2pp	non-adjacency pair	TOTAL
Function 1 (request)	7		1	8
Function 2 (attention-getter)	2			2
Function 3 (closing)	2	1		3
Function 4 (regret)		8 (4)*	12 (3)	20 (7)
Function 5 (gratitude)		6 (0)	5 (2)	11 (2)
TOTAL	11	15	18	44

*The numbers in parentheses indicate that some type of minimization response by the interlocutor (e.g., *doozo, doo itashimashite)* followed the speaker's utterance of *sumimasen.*

Table 1 shows the sequential positions of *sumimasen* as it occurs in these data. As indicated by the tokens of *sumimasen* for Function 1 (request marker), Function 2 (attention-getter), and Function 3 (closing marker), *sumimasen* tend to be produced as a first pair part. In contrast, the tokens of *sumimasen* as they occur in Function 4 (regret marker) and Function 5 (gratitude marker) tend to be uttered as a second pair part. This indicates that *sumimasen* in a first pair part position signals the speaker's reluctance to impose on the addressee and *sumimasen* in a second pair part position signals the speaker's regret for having already imposed on the addressee. Therefore, *sumimasen* is aimed not only toward the speaker's previous actions but toward future actions as well.

Interestingly, 9 of the 11 occurrences of *sumimasen* which function as a gratitude marker are followed by no response from the interlocutor; while of the 20 tokens of *sumimasen* as a regret marker, seven are followed by some type of response: four, by minimizations such as *doo itashimashite* 'that's okay,' and three, by some encouragement to pursue an action such as *doozo* 'please' or 'go ahead.'

THE FUNCTIONAL PRINCIPLE OF *SUMIMASEN*

The five different functions of *sumimasen* are not unrelated to each other but emerge from a single underlying functional principle. I propose that the core function of *sumimasen* is to redress the addressee's face threatened by an imposition caused by the speaker.

In all the interactions involving *sumimasen* in the data, there is a wide range of impositions through which the speaker threatens the addressee's face. For Functions 1 (request marker) and 2 (attention getter), the speaker's request is an imposition on the addressee. For Function 3 (closing marker), the speaker considers his/her action of invading the addressee's space or time as an imposition. For Function 4 (regret marker), *sumimasen* clearly displays the speaker's regret for imposing trouble or extra work on the addressee. According to Kumatoridani's (1988, 1990, 1992) shift in point of view, even a favor done by the addressee for the speaker, can still be viewed as an imposition on the addressee, as in Function 5 (gratitude marker). Thus, the speaker, recognizing that s/he is the causer of some trouble for the addressee, attempts to redress the threat to the addressee's face by producing *sumimasen*. If *sumimasen* is not uttered by the speaker, the addressee may feel that s/he has lost face through the imposition.

The face-redressive function of *sumimasen* is closely related to the feeling of indebtedness. Whether the speaker's response is regarded as gratitude or apology, indebtedness to the addressee always underlies *sumimasen*. In the speech act of apology, it is common in any language or society for the speaker to feel indebtedness to the addressee for having caused him/her trouble (Coulmas, 1981). However, in Japanese society the speaker regards him/herself as a causer of trouble even when the addressee voluntarily provides some benefit to the speaker.

From an etymological perspective, *sumimasen*, among other apologetic expressions, specifically indicates the speaker's feeling of indebtedness. The *Gogen-daijiten* (*Japanese dictionary of etymology*) (Horii, 1988) points out that *sumimasen* derives from the verb *sumu* represented by the character 澄む which means "to be clear." Although the *Gogen-daijiten* definition of the verb *sumu* is somewhat different from the one in *Koojien* (Shinmura, 1991) and other dictionaries (i.e., 'to finish,' 'to be settled,' 'to be satisfied') this other meaning can account for the source of indebtedness conveyed by *sumimasen*. The *Gogen-daijiten* indicates that the original sense of *sumimasen* is "my mind is not calm and peaceful if you do me such a favor." By producing *sumimasen*, the speaker not only shows gratitude to the addressee but also attempts to change, as much as possible, his/her unbalanced relationship with the addressee into a balanced one, at least verbally.

This concept of indebtedness may be related to the traditional custom of gift-giving in Japanese society where reciprocity is one of the interactional principles (Befu, 1974). In addition to gifts, Japanese feel indebted when they receive favors from other people. They might feel that only expressing gratitude is not sufficient to convey their indebtedness.

SUMIMASEN IN RELATION TO OTHER EXPRESSIONS OF APOLOGY AND GRATITUDE

Sumimasen and Other Expressions of Apology in the Data

As described previously, *sumimasen* has been characterized as a face-redressive marker with multiple functions. To examine whether other apologetic expressions in Japanese also have similar functions, all other apologetic expressions in the data were isolated and counted. The results are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Expressions of Apology

expression[4]	# of tokens	meaning
mooshiwake nai (" *arimasen*) [polite] (" *gozaimasen*)[superpolite]	26	I'm sorry
gomen (" *nasai*) [polite]	24	I'm sorry
gomen kudasai	25	Excuse me
shitsurei shimasu	18	Excuse me

(" *shimashita*) [past] (" *itashimashita*) [past, polite] (" *mooshiagemashita*) [past, superpolite]		I'm sorry
warui desu	2	I feel bad (guilty)
otesuu kakemashita	3	I'm sorry to cause you trouble
omatase itashimashita	3	I'm sorry to keep you waiting
ojyama itashimashita	3	I'm sorry to intrude
gomendoo desuga	1	I'm sorry for troubling you
meiwaku to zonjimasu	1	I'm sorry to bother you

Next to *sumimasen*, the expressions *mooshiwake nai* and *gomen (nasai, kudasai)* occur very frequently. There are also certain routine formulae such as *otesuu kakemashita*, *omatase shimashita*, and *ojyama shimashita*, all of which explicitly mention the speakers actions objectively, displaying nothing about their personal feelings.

Figure 1 illustrates the various strategies for expressing apology in Japanese, with these strategies arranged along a comprehensive scale of denotational explicitness. In this figure, all the expressions in italics occur in the data base, except *owabi shimasu.* The arrow in Figure 1 runs from the high end of denotational explicitness to the low end. As noted, the core function of *sumimasen* is to show the speaker's indebtedness. In this light, *sumimasen* is less explicit than other expressions which contain explicit semantic components of apology. For example, *warui* denotes the speaker's recognition of his/her fault; *gomen nasai* indicates a request for forgiveness; *mooshiwake arimasen* denotes an excuse; and *owabi shimasu* explicitly denotes apology, since *wabi* by itself means 'apology.' Although there is no occurrence of *owabi shimasu* in the data, this expression can be considered one of the most sincere in terms of apologizing.

HIGH END OF
DENOTATIONAL
EXPLICITNESS

6. Offer apologies
   (owabi shimasu)

5. Acknowledge responsibility
   mooshiwake arimasen

4. Request forgiveness
   gomen nasai
   gomen kudasai

3. Express attitude towards an offense
   warui desu

2. Assert that an offense has occurred
   shitsurei shimashita
   otesuu kakemashita
   ojyama shimashita
   omatase itashimashita
   ote o wazurawase mashite
   gomendoo desu ga

1. Assert imbalance or show deference
   sumimasen

V

LOW END OF
DENOTATIONAL
EXPLICITNESS

Figure 1: Strategies of Apology

As Figure 1 shows, *mooshiwake arimasen* is distinguished as a strategy with a high degree of apologetic explicitness. *Mooshiwake arimasen* is prompted by the speaker's acknowledgment of his/her being at fault while *sumimasen* is frequently produced without the speaker's admission of fault. The next example demonstrates how the speaker could employ both *sumimasen* and *mooshiwake arimasen* in one turn.

(7) ((In a department store, Mrs. K asks the clerk to bring her another blouse after the clerk had already brought her the wrong one))

1 clerk: *A ookii hoodesu ka. Jyaa ooki hoo omochi shimashoo.*
Do you mean the blouse with bigger dots? OK, I will bring it to you.

2 Mrs. K: ***Suimasen. Mooshiwake arimasen.***
Sorry. I'm so sorry.

In this instance, Mrs. K might feel that *sumimasen* alone is not sufficient to apologize for having caused trouble again. Thus, to express a more sincere apology, Mrs. K produces *mooshiwake arimasen*, which conveys the speaker's recognition of her fault to the addressee. In this sense, *sumimasen* is less substantive than *mooshiwake arimasen*, and that is why *sumimasen* is considered as a "routine formula" (Goldstein & Tamura, 1975; Coulmas, 1981).

It is interesting that this non-substantive characteristic of *sumimasen* sometimes triggers a dissatisfied response by the addressee, such as *sumimasen de sumu to omotte iru'n desu ka?* 'Do you think that saying *sumimasen* will finish (be sufficient to apologize for) it?' when the offense is a more serious one. This expression demonstrates that *sumimasen* alone is not an appropriate apologetic expression where the trouble is so problematic that the addressee requires the speaker to repair the damage, be it emotional, psychological, or physical, or provide compensation for it. The fact that this expression contains a pun (i.e., finish/apologize) indicates cynically that the addressee's annoyance cannot be cleared up (*sumu*) just by virtue of the speaker's uttering of *sumimasen*. In such situations, *sumimasen* as a declaration of indebtedness, is not only insufficient but it also makes the speaker sound insincere.

Sumimasen and Other Expressions of Gratitude

In addition to expressions of apology, all expressions of gratitude in the data have also been coded and characterized to illuminate the strength of each expression and to compare them to *sumimasen*.

Table 3: Expressions of Gratitude

expressions[4]	# of tokens	meaning
arigatoo (" *gozaimasu*) [superpolite]	33	thank you
osore irimasu (" *irimashita*) [past]	14	thank you so much
kyooshuku desu (" *degozaimasu*) [polite]	4	thank you so much

gokuroo sama (" *deshita*) [polite, past]	7	thank you for your trouble
gochisoo sama deshita	3	thank you for the food
osewa sama (" *ni narimashita*) [polite, past]	2	thank you for your help
otsukare sama	7	thank you for working hard
tasukarimashita	1	thank you for your help

Arigatoo/arigatoo gozaimasu literally means that the addressee's action or favor is so precious that it hardly seems possible. This is the most common expression of gratitude in daily conversation.

Both *osore irimasu* and *kyooshuku desu* literally mean 'to be frightened' and convey the speaker's humbleness toward the addressee's favor which is too great to be taken for granted. There are also routine formulae for expressing gratitude, such as *gokuroo sama*, composed of the honorific prefix *go*, *kuroo* meaning 'trouble' or 'hard work,' and the respect term, *sama*. Three other expressions of gratitude, *otsukare sama, gochisoo sama,* and *osewa sama* are constructed in an identical manner, with the main element in each—*tsukare* (tiredness), *chisoo* (feast), and *sewa* (care) preceded by the honorific prefix *o* or *go* and followed by *sama.*

These strategies of expressing gratitude have also been ranked using the same scale of denotational explicitness, as shown in Figure 2.

HIGH END OF
DENOTATIONAL
EXPLICITNESS

5. Express gratitude
   (orei o mooshiagemasu)

4. Express attitude towards favor
   kyooshuku desu
   osore irimasu

3. Evaluate the action
   arigatoo
   tasukari mashita

2. Assert that favor has taken place
   gokuroo sama
   otsukare sama
   gochisoo sama
   osewa sama

1. Assert imbalance or show deference
   sumimasen

V

LOW END OF
DENOTATIONAL
EXPLICTNESS

Figure 2: Strategies of Gratitude

Figure 1 and Figure 2 reflect many similarities between strategies for expressing apology and gratitude, in that both contain routine formulae. Moreover, the ways of expressing gratitude in these routines are very similar to those for apology--the speaker mentions the addressee's action without explicitly expressing a feeling of appreciation, gratitude, or apology.

It is also interesting to note that *sumimasen* is identified as an expression with the lowest degree of denotational explicitness for strategies of both apology and gratitude.

Sumimasen vs. *Arigatoo Gozaimasu*

The speaker's feeling of indebtedness is a key for differentiating *sumimasen* from other gratitude expressions such as *arigatoo gozaimasu*. The following example, excerpted from a conversation among Mrs. K, Mrs. Ueno, and Mrs. Doi, illustrates this point:

(8) ((Mrs. Ueno offers a ride to Mrs. Doi))

1 Mrs. Ueno: *Doi-san ookuri suru wa.*
Mrs. Doi, I'll give you a ride.

2 Mrs. Doi: *Arigatoo gozaimasu. A daijyoobu desu. Moo ame mo.*
Thank you. That's all right. The rain's not so bad now.

3 Mrs. Ueno: *Oaruki ni narun jya.*
It would be hard if you walk.

4 Mrs. Doi: *Kyoowa ginkoo itte chotto.*
I have something to do at Kyoowa Bank.

5 Mrs. Ueno: *Kyoowa ginkoo.*
At Kyoowa Bank.

6 Mrs. K: *Soo, jyaa kyoowa no tokoro made nosete itadakeba?*
Then, why don't you get a ride (from Mrs. Ueno) to Kyoowa Bank.

7 *Ie, moshi Uenosan irassharanakereba atakushi ame dakara ookuri shiyoo to omotte itano yo.*
If Mrs. Ueno doesn't give you a ride, I thought I would take you

8 Mrs. Doi *Iya iya chotto shita toko dakara*
No no since we're so close (to Kyoowa Bank).

9 Mrs.Ueno: *Hanarete iru kara.*
It's far away.

10 Mrs. Doi: *Chotto shita toko dakara.*
It's close.

11 Mrs. K: *Jyaa eki made nosete itadakeba? nee*
Well, why don't you get a ride to the station?

12 Mrs. Ueno: *Soo yo.*
Yes, that's right.

13 Mrs. Doi: *Itsumo* ***suimasen*** *nanka itsumo nanka.*
(Thank you for) always giving me a ride, always.

14 Mrs. Ueno: *Ii no yoo.*
It's no problem.

In line 2, Mrs. Doi's response to Mrs. Ueno's offer is not *sumimasen*, but *arigatoo gozaimasu*, because Mrs. Doi is refusing Mrs. Ueno's offer. Mrs. Doi shows her feeling of gratitude for the offer only, with no immediate intention of accepting it. If Mrs. Doi had produced *sumimasen* as a second pair part to Mrs. Ueno's utterance, it would have indicated that she intended to accept the offer, showing both her appreciation and her regret for causing Mrs. Ueno to go out of her way. At line 13, however, Mrs. Doi does produce *sumimasen* since she finally decides to accept the offer after a circuitous interaction involving Mrs. K (from line 3 to 12). This means that Mrs. Doi's state of indebtedness does not occur until she actually accepts the offer. This phenomenon is also evident in (9):

(9) ((Prof. Ito congratulates Mrs. K on her daughter's receiving an award))

1 Prof. Ito: *Hai omedetoo gozaimashita.*
Yes, congratulations.

2 Mrs. K: ***Arigatoo gozaimasu.***
Thank you very much.

Here, Mrs. K utters *arigatoo gozaimasu*, not *sumimasen*, since her purpose is not to redress any indebtedness toward Prof. Ito, but simply to express her gratitude in response to her statement of congratulations. This accounts for the fact that *sumimasen* can never be uttered as a response to praise or to receiving a compliment.

With respect to the combined use of *sumimasen* and *arigatoo*, Kumatoridani (1990, p. 65) argues that *sumimasen* functions to repair an imbalance in a particular relationship, while *arigatoo* functions to close the interaction of a gratitude exchange. In my data, however, I did not find any examples where *arigatoo* functioned as a closing marker. Instead, I would like to propose that it is the speaker's recognition of indebtedness which determines the choice of *sumimasen* or *arigatoo* as seen in example (8).

THE ROLE OF *SUMIMASEN* IN PUBLIC INTERACTIONS

The Absence of *Sumimasen* in Family Interactions

Sumimasen, which is employed as one of the least denotationally explicit strategies for expressing both apology and gratitude, plays a very important role in Japanese society, yet tokens of *sumimasen* are not found in the interactions which involve only family members. The fact that there is no occurrence of *sumimasen* in the family conversations in these data may be one piece of indirect evidence to support its importance in public interactions; that is to say that *sumimasen* seems to be a crucial expression outside of the home, while it is noticeably rare among family members and other intimate relations.

Of the ten hours of recorded conversation with Mrs. K, approximately three hours are spent communicating with her husband and two daughters. As I have mentioned, there are no occurrences of *sumimasen* in these three hours of family interaction; however, I do find tokens which occur when Mrs. K is addressing someone outside of the family. This suggests that *sumimasen* is not used in interactions where the speaker feels no indebtedness, and consequently has no need to maintain the addressee's face. Example (10) also supports this point.

(10) ((Mrs. K is speaking to her daughter, Aya))

Mrs. K:	*Aya-chan, Aya-chan.* Aya, Aya.
Aya:	*Haai.* Yes.
Mrs. K:	*Chotto, oneechama okoshite.* Please wake up your sister.

Instead of uttering *sumimasen*, Mrs. K only uses a hesitation marker, *chotto*, which has been termed by Matsumoto (1985, p. 143) as "a speech act qualification." However, as we have seen, the same speaker, Mrs. K, uses *sumimasen* often when making requests to her friends, her cooking class students, or sales clerks.[5]

Sumimasen and *Kao* (Japanese 'Face')

As pointed out earlier, Mrs. K seems to have a great consideration for not violating the interlocutor's image in public. *Kao*, the Japanese notion of face, might be the key concept for discussing the significance of *sumimasen* in public interactions. The fact that there are so many expressions in Japanese with *kao*[6] indicates the sensitivity of Japanese people to this notion of "face." Matsumoto (1988, p. 423) points out that the Japanese conception of "face" does not always fit the notion of "face" defined by Brown and Levinson (1978). For Japanese people, *kao* is more than 'self-image' or 'self-respect' (Brown & Levinson, 1978, p.66); it is a person's face in public or even honor in accordance with one's status. For example, if someone is not treated in an appropriate way in terms of his/her status, s/he feels that "his/her honor was disgraced," which is much stronger than losing face. This is reflected in the expression *kao ga tsubusareru* 'to have one's face crushed' (i.e., to have one's reputation ruined). If the speaker shows that s/he is indebted to the addressee, the addressee's face can be maintained through the speaker's uttering of *sumimasen*, despite the imposition that the speaker has already made.

Sumimasen can also be considered as an utterance for *omoiyari* 'consideration for others' which Maynard (1987, p. 219) emphasizes as a crucial element of Japanese conversational interaction. Maintaining the interlocutor's face is one way of expressing *omoiyari*, and the speaker can show *omoiyari* by producing *sumimasen*, even though s/he does not intend to substantively apologize.

The Absence of *Sumimasen* and Losing Face

The following example demonstrates how the absence of *sumimasen* in interpersonal relationships among Japanese and this interesting stretch of talk shows just how important Mrs. K considers the expression.

(11) ((Mr. and Mrs. K discuss their neighbor whose house was under construction. The construction company vehicles always parked in front of the entrance to the Ks' garage))

1 Mrs. K: *Soshitara sono otoosan to iu hito mo oohei na hito de,*
(Then I found out that) his father is arrogant, too.

2 Mr. K: *Huhun.*
Yes.

3 Mrs. K: *Sorede kooji no kuruma yokete kudasaranai to ano atashi no kuruma dooshite dasun'deshooka tte ittano.*
Then I told him I couldn't get my car out of the garage
if that car was not moved.

4 Mr. K: *Hun*
Yes.

5 Mrs. K: *Soshitara futsuu dattara* ***suimasen*** *toka nantoka iudesho,*
Normal people say "I'm sorry" or something like that, don't they?

6 Mr. K: *Hun.*
Yes.

7 Mrs. K: *Nani mo iwanaino yo.*
He said nothing.

8 Mr: K: *Un.*
Yes.

9 Mrs. K: *Watashi mo honto ni shaku ni sawatta kara....*
This really made me upset.

10 *Konna kootsuu boogai sarete anata* ***suimasen***
no hitotsu mo naishi ne,
Having our driveway blocked, you know,
we didn't even get a "*sumimasen,*"

11 *De ne, kocchi wa shitade ni dete, "****Suimasen.*** *Chotto kuruma dashitai'n desu kedo," te ieba,*
And then, when I said, humbling myself, "Excuse me, I would like to take my car out,"

12 *moo urusai dano ne mendoo kusai dano nante ne.*
they said "That's annoying," or "what a trouble maker."

13 *Ano toki hontoo watashi ne hontoo ni keisatsu ni denwa shichaookashira to omotta kurai yo.*
That time, it made me so upset that I really thought
I would call the police.

Indeed, this conversation illustrates that Mrs. K feels that her honor was violated by her neighbor who did not even say *sumimasen*. What bothers Mrs. K more than anything (line 9) is the absence of *sumimasen* (line 7) rather than the act of illegal parking itself. Thus, *sumimasen* is crucial for maintaining the interlocutor's face, even though an offensive action has already been committed. Mrs. K must have felt that *kao ga tsubusareta* 'her face was crushed' (See page 19) because of her neighbor's failure to utter *sumimasen*.

Another interesting finding is that the utterance *futsuu dattara,* which literally means 'if he were a normal person,' suggests that Mrs. K regards the neighbor as a person lacking common sense. Mrs. K's impression that the neighbor is "arrogant" (line 1) may also be related to his non-use of *sumimasen.* A person's failure to produce an expected utterance might result in that person being judged an inappropriate member of society. In this sense, *sumimasen* might be one index by which a speaker is judged. Mrs. K's utterance *suimasen no hitotsu mo naishi* (line 10) 'we didn't even get a "*sumimasen*,"' also indicates that she recognizes *sumimasen* as the absolute minimum response required under such circumstances.

In addition, in line 11 Mrs. K displays her perception that she has done nothing wrong yet uses *sumimasen* as a politeness strategy for asking her neighbor to move the car: *kocchi wa shitade ni dete, suimasen...te ieba* 'when I said, humbling myself, "excuse me."' Naturally, Mrs. K knows that it is not her but the neighbor who should recognize himself as the source of trouble and produce *sumimasen*, and the fact that he did not frustrated her deeply.

This is a strong example of how the failure to use *sumimasen* breaks the rapport between interlocutors. If this neighbor had uttered *sumimasen* to Mrs. K, she would not have such hostile feelings. Thus, *sumimasen* functions as "a social lubricant which keeps the wheels of human relations running smoothly" (Sakamoto & Naotsuka, 1982, p. 93) in spite of troublesome situations. Even though *sumimasen* is used in a ritualized and formulaic way and sometimes seems to lack sincerity, this expression has an important role for maintaining smooth relationships. Since language is not only a tool of communication but also "a tool of human interaction" (Wierzbicka, 1991, p. 1), the absence of a single utterance such as *sumimasen* can have detrimental effects on interpersonal relationships.

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the multiple functions of *sumimasen* which cannot be defined based on the concept of apology alone. This study demonstrates that *sumimasen* has great importance in maintaining face as well as avoiding conflict in public interactions.

I began this study with the realization that there are many communicative gaps between American and Japanese interpretations of the notions of apology and gratitude having heard many instances of Japanese learners of English uttering "I'm sorry" as a generalized counterpart of *sumimasen.* In addition, I have heard Americans living in Japan posing the following question: "Why do the Japanese say 'I'm sorry' when they receive a gift?" Researchers have pointed out that native speakers of other languages also have difficulties in mastering speech acts of apologies in English (Borken & Reinhart, 1978; Olshtain, 1989); however, misunderstandings regarding apologies between Japanese and Americans might be more frequent because of the differences in their strategies of apology and thanks. Recognizing the peculiarity of the multiple functions of *sumimasen* can contribute to the resolution, or at least the reduction, of such misunderstandings.

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NOTES

[1] In some cases, it was difficult to classify the functions as either expressing regret or gratitude since *sumimasen* can display the speaker's mixed feelings of gratitude and apology through dual points of trouble. In classifying each function, I tried to measure the relative weight of gratitude and apology. If the degree of apology appeared greater, that instance of *sumimasen* was coded as a regret marker. Conversely, if the degree of gratitude appeared greater, then the token was coded as a gratitude marker.

[2] *Sumimasen* often occurs in its reduced phonological form, *suimasen,* which has the identical meaning but is slightly less formal.

[3] Based on this example, it could be argued that the function of the attention getter closely resembles that of the request marker since the speaker in this interaction requests something of the addressee just after producing *sumimasen*. However, *sumimasen* clearly does have the function of getting attention, as in a classroom, a restaurant, or on the street, and since other expressions of apology such as *mooshiwake arimasen or gomen nasai* are not used as attention-getters, I think it is fitting to maintain this classification of *sumimasen*.

[4] The expressions in parentheses are variations of the base expression, (i.e., plain or present forms). There is no semantic difference if the expression appears in the plain form or the present form.

[5] Of the eight tokens identified as request markers, six are produced by Mrs. K.

[6] For example, *kao o tateru* which means 'to give or save face' is used in situations where something unfavorable or disgraceful happens. The opposite of *kao o tateru* is *kao o tsubusu* 'to crush one's face' or *kao ni doro o nuru* 'to do a shameful thing. *Kao* can even mean 'power' as seen in such expressions as *kao ga hiroi* 'a person who has many contacts', or *kao ga kiku* 'a person with influence whose word goes a long way.' The great importance which the Japanese place on the notion of *kao* is clear through these expressions.

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Socializing the Expression of Affect: An Overview of Affective Particle Use in the Japanese as a Foreign Language Classroom

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This longitudinal study of teacher talk examines the use of affective particles in the language of the university-level elementary Japanese as a foreign language classroom. The classroom is viewed as a crucial language socializing space in which students are not only acquiring grammatical competence, but are also being socialized into particular norms of interaction in Japanese. The frequency and variety of affective particles are carefully calculated and compared with particle use in ordinary conversation. The results show that affective particles are used far less frequently in the classroom language analyzed than in ordinary conversation. Significant differences between teachers were also found. Qualitative analysis of classroom assessments reveals that teacher stance impacts the frequency of affective particle use, with teachers revealing their communicative orientation towards interaction with students through their affective particle use--the frequency of affective particle use increases when the teacher's focus is on the communicative content of the interaction rather than on grammatical form.

INTRODUCTION

For learners of foreign languages, socialization into appropriate use of the target language takes place primarily in the classroom. Therefore, learners need to learn not only grammar and vocabulary, but also the appropriate ways of using language within the target society, including the appropriate expression of affect. For learners of Japanese, socialization into appropriate norms of language use is critical, because students' first-language backgrounds are unlikely to be of much help to them in communicating effectively with natives. Because the classroom is the primary arena of language socialization for the foreign language learner, what goes on within this context is vitally important.

Previous studies of the language used in second and foreign language classrooms have shown some ways in which the language used in classrooms differs from non-pedagogical language in areas such as syntactic complexity,

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interaction styles, question types, and grammatical accuracy.[1] However, none of these studies looks at characteristics of language which communicate affect, epistemic stance, or which index[2] social relationships among interlocutors—aspects of language which are key to social interaction.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the language of the Japanese foreign language classroom in order to better understand how the language environment of the classroom works in the socialization of foreign language learners as they acquire Japanese. Specifically, this study investigates the use of affective particles in the university elementary-level Japanese as a foreign language classroom, comparing the range and frequency of particles used in the classroom with the range and frequency of particles used in ordinary conversation, as well as investigating differences in particle use from teacher to teacher and over an academic year of instruction. In order to understand how affective particles function in the classroom environment, the following questions will be addressed: 1) Which affective particles are used in the classroom data collected, and how does the variety and frequency of affective particles used in the classroom compare to that of ordinary conversation?,[3] 2) Does the frequency of affective particle use by teachers increase or decrease as student language proficiency increases?, 3) Are there differences between teachers in frequency of affective particle use?, and 4) How does teaching philosophy impact the use of affective particles in the classroom?

The results show that 1) a much narrower range of affective particles are used with significantly lower frequency in the classroom than in the conversational corpora, 2) the teachers are consistent in particle use over the academic year, 3) significant differences in frequency of particle use between teachers were found, and 4) teaching philosophy (communicative approach vs. structurally-oriented approach to teaching Japanese) appears to impact the expression of affect in the classroom through the use of affective particles. In addition to presenting the results of quantitative analysis, excerpts from different classes will be presented which show qualitatively how teachers differed from one another in the use of *ne*-marked assessments.

AFFECTIVE PARTICLES IN JAPANESE

In Japanese, affective particles are important elements which encode the speaker's affect and epistemological disposition and mark the speaker's stance with respect to a proposition.[4] Affective particles in Japanese mark both affective and epistemic stances.[5] While every language has resources to encode stance, Japanese is especially interesting linguistically in its encoding of affective and epistemic stances through these markers.

The role of affective particles in Japanese has been widely studied. In acquisition studies involving children acquiring Japanese as their native language, affective particles are among the earliest acquired forms (Clancy, 1985). These particles modulate everyday interaction in Japanese, displaying social meaning related to the speaker's orientation to both the message and to the interlocutors (Cook, 1988). The importance of these particles in politeness phenomenon has also been noted (Ohta, 1991). The use of Japanese affective particles has been shown to be dependent upon genre, with a high incidence indicating a high level of interaction (Clancy, 1982; Cook, 1990, 1992; Suzuki, 1990). In contrast, these particles seldom occur in contexts where interaction is limited such as in public lectures (Cook, 1992).

For the learner of Japanese as a foreign language, the acquisition of affective particles is absolutely critical to the development of conversational competence in Japanese. Although affective particles are part of what a learner of Japanese must acquire in order to interact appropriately in Japanese, it has been found that these particles are difficult for learners to acquire (Sawyer, 1991). This is problematic, because without using affective particles properly, a learner of Japanese "might find hearers . . . 'taking him the wrong way' " (Hymes, 1980, p. 2) even though his or her utterance was "phonologically, grammatically, and semantically correct."

INPUT IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Studies of the role of input in second language acquisition have shown that the language which learners are exposed to in the classroom is decisive in determining the sort of language that learners will produce (Swain 1985; Gaies 1979; Lightbown 1980, 1985, 1987). This body of research underscores the importance of the language environment for the language learner. When that environment is the classroom and the learner has little or no contact with the target language outside of the classroom, the impact of the language of the classroom on the learner's language development cannot be ignored. While children acquire their native language in a rich linguistic environment where they can be socialized through language (Ochs, 1988; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin, 1990), foreign language learners are often exclusively dependent upon their limited contact with the classroom foreign language teacher. For teachers of Japanese, it is useful to consider that if the student's only contact with Japanese is the classroom, how are students being socialized to use Japanese? For example, do students emerging from the first year of instruction have an elementary foundation in the language that supports progress towards their becoming appropriate members of Japanese society? These sorts of questions are not answered easily, but are important if we are to take seriously the socialization process that is occurring in the classroom.

METHODOLOGY

The Data

This study is based upon the analysis of longitudinal data in the form of video and audio recordings of nine first-year Japanese class sessions collected during the 1991-1992 academic year. The data are from first-year introductory Japanese classes taught by three different teachers, hereafter called "Teacher A," "Teacher B," and "Teacher C." All three teachers are female native speakers of Japanese.

Teacher A teaches undergraduate day classes at a public university in the United States with a total enrollment of 15,000 students. She has both a certificate in Teaching English as a Second Language and an M.A. in Linguistics, and was educated to be an English teacher in Japan. She has worked at the university for two years, teaching first year Japanese both years. She also taught Japanese at a junior college for three and a half years, as well as teaching Japanese at a "Saturday School" for Japanese children. In Japan, she taught English as a Foreign Language in public high schools for four years. Teacher A was 36 years old at the time of data collection. The students enrolled in Teacher A's Japanese class were all undergraduates.

Teacher B is employed at the same university as Teacher A and also teaches undergraduate day classes. She has an M.A. in Teaching English as a Second Language, and was in her first year of teaching Japanese full-time during the data collection period. Prior to teaching at the University, she was employed part-time for one year as a teaching assistant. Teacher B taught English conversation in Japan for two years, and completed teacher training in Japan to become a secondary-school English teacher. She was 29 years old during the time of data collection. The students enrolled in Teacher B's Japanese class were also all undergraduates.

Teacher C is employed at the extension program of a different university. She has an M.A. degree in Linguistics, but unlike Teachers A and B, has had no formal teacher training. She began teaching as a teaching assistant while in graduate school where she taught Japanese for two years. Following receipt of her M.A. degree, Teacher C began teaching part-time at a university extension program where she has been teaching for five years. Teacher C was 33 at the time of data collection. The students enrolled in Teacher C's Japanese course were adults taking Japanese for business or personal reasons.

Table 1 shows the information about the classes where data were recorded, including teacher, academic quarter (Fall, Winter, or Spring), number of students, location of class, and duration of data collection.

Table 1: Data Collected

Teacher	Quarter	# of Students in Attendance	Location	Duration of Recording
A	F '91	18	Univ. 1	50 min.
A	W '92	21	Univ. 1	50 min.
A	S '92	20	Univ. 1	50 min.
B	F '91	19	Univ. 1	50 min.
B	W '92	18	Univ. 1	50 min.
B	S '92	16	Univ. 1	50 min.
C	F '91	17	Univ. 2	120 min.
C	W '92	12	Univ. 2	50 min.
C	S '92	11	Univ. 2	50 min.

Data Collection Procedure

Data were video-recorded with a camera placed in the back of the classroom and set up to record as much of the class activity as possible. Audio-recordings were collected through the use of a recorder placed in the center of the class and a small recorder with a clip-on microphone that was either worn by the teacher or placed in the front of the classroom, according to the teacher's preference or convenience.

Following the completion of the longitudinal data collection, each teacher was asked the following questions in an interview:

1. How would you describe the language you use in your classroom?
2. How do you think it compares to the language you use outside the classroom?
3. Do you pay any particular attention to your language in the classroom? Are there particular language forms you try to use or avoid?
4. What kind of language do you think teachers should ideally use in the classroom?
5. How proficient are your students in their use of affective particles? How well do you think they understand your use of affective particles?
6. What is your philosophy when it comes to teaching affective particles?
7. Do you have any particular attitude towards affective particle use in your own speech in the classroom?

Quantitative Analysis

The first step of quantitative analysis was to determine which affective particles occurred and the number of occurrences for each in each class session. Affective particles used by teacher and students were noted separately. Rank order analysis of affective particles used in the classroom corpus was conducted in order to determine which affective particles occurred most frequently in the classroom sessions analyzed.

After determining which particles occurred and how frequently, the frequency of each teacher's use of each affective particle was determined by ascertaining the number of affective particles used per 100 intonation units for each class. The intonation unit (IU) was selected as the unit of analysis in calculating the frequency of affective particle occurrence in this study because the IU has been found to be a reliable unit of analysis for Japanese[6] (cf. Iwasaki & Tao, 1993; Iwasaki, 1993; Patricia Clancy & Ryoko Suzuki, personal communication). An IU is a segment of spoken discourse defined by its prosodic properties as 1) having one coherent intonation contour, and 2) in many cases beginning with one or more of the following: a pause, hesitation noise, or a resetting of the baseline pitch level (Iwasaki & Tao, 1993; Iwasaki, 1993). Of these properties, Iwasaki (personal communication) hypothesizes that the resetting of the baseline pitch level is the most important defining feature of the IU.

The frequency of affective particle usage in each teacher's language was determined through random sampling (i.e., three to four samples taken from each class) of each class session analyzed. Only the teachers' speech[7] was used in this analysis. Each set of samples from each class totaled 200-300 IUs. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) of test was performed in order to discover any significant differences in frequency of affective particle use over time and across teachers. This test was used to compare Fall and Spring frequency data for each teacher as well as to determine whether there were any statistically significant differences in frequency of affective particle use between teachers.

Next, the frequencies of affective particle use in teacher speech and in a corpora of conversational data were compared.

The Conversational Corpora

The conversational corpora are a part of a larger data base of Japanese conversation developed at the University of California, Santa Barbara.[8] Each corpus is described in Table 2.

Table 2: Conversational Corpora

Corpus Title	Duration	Speakers	Relationship
Coffee Shop	5 minutes	1 male, 1 female	Good friends
Living room	6 minutes	1 male, 1 female	Good friends
Bar	5 minutes	2 males	Colleagues
Restaurant	7 minutes	2 males	Colleagues

The number of affective particles per 100 IUs was compared for the classroom corpus and the conversational corpora. In order to determine whether there were statistically significant differences in the frequency of affective particle use between the classroom corpus and the conversational corpora, statistical analysis was conducted using a T-test.

RESULTS

Affective Particles Used in the Classroom

In the classroom corpus, seven affective particles appeared : *ne, yo, deshoo, ka na, na, no* and *sa*. Tables 3 through 5 show the affective particles used for Fall, Winter and Spring quarters by both teachers and students in the class sessions analyzed. Table 6 displays the distribution of affective particles for all classes.

Table 3: Teacher A, Fall, Winter and Spring (three 50-minute periods)

	ne	deshoo	yo	ka na	no	na	sa	Totals
T	561	33	49	8	1	0	2	654
SS	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Totals	566	33	49	8	1	0	2	659

Table 4: Teacher B, Fall, Winter and Spring (three 50-minute periods)

	ne	deshoo	yo	ka na	no	na	sa	Totals
T	282	24	9	33	5	2	0	355
SS	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Totals	288	24	9	33	5	2	0	361

Table 5: Teacher C, Fall, Winter and Spring (one 120-minute period and two 50-minute periods

	ne	deshoo	yo	ka na	no	na	sa	Totals
T	181	8	0	0	0	0	0	189
SS	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Totals	185	8	0	0	0	0	0	193

Table 6: Affective Particles Used by All Teachers, Fall, Winter and Spring

	ne	deshoo	yo	ka na	no	na	sa	Totals
T	1024	65	58	41	6	2	2	1198
SS	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Totals	1039	65	58	41	6	2	2	1213
%	86%	5%	5%	4%	1%	0.20%	0.20%	

As an analysis of these data reveals, while seven different affective particles emerged in the data, no one teacher uses all seven of these particles. Teachers A and B each use six different particles, while Teacher C only uses two different affective particles. For all three teachers, *ne* is the most frequent particle. As shown in Table 4, while there are 1,039 occurrences of *ne* (86% of all particles used), the second most frequent affective particle, *deshoo*, appears only 65 times (5%), *yo* appears 58 times (5%), *ka na* 42 times (4%), *no* 6 times (1%), and *na* and *sa* appear only twice each (.2%).

Although *ne* is overwhelmingly the most frequent particle in the speech of all three teachers, rank order from the second position down varies widely from teacher to teacher. For example, while *yo* is the second most frequent affective particle (49 occurrences) for Teacher A, Teacher B uses *yo* only nine times, with *ka na* being the second most frequent particle (33 occurrences).

These data also reveal that students rarely use affective particles in any of the class sessions analyzed. Of the 1,214 affective particles used, only 15 (1%) were uttered by students. *Ne* was the only affective particle used by students.

Frequency of Affective Particles in the Classroom

Frequency of affective particles per 100 IUs was also calculated. Tables 7 through 14 show the frequency of affective particles per 100 IUs for Fall and Spring quarters for all three teachers.

Tables 7-14: Classroom Samples: Affective Particles per 100 Intonation Units

Key: IU=intonation unit; AP=affective particles; AP/IU=# of AP per 100 IU

Table 7: Teacher A, Fall

	IU	AP	AP/IU
Sample 1	98	12	12
Sample 2	125	16	13
Sample 3	94	17	18
Sample 4	0	0	0
Total	317	45	14

Table 8: Teacher A, Spring

	IU	AP	AP/IU
Sample 1	115	17	15
Sample 2	97	12	12
Sample 3	51	12	24
Sample 4	54	7	13
Total	317	48	15

Table 9: Teacher B, Fall

	IU	AP	AP/IU
Sample 1	78	8	10
Sample 2	109	10	9
Sample 3	144	22	15
Sample 4	0	0	0
Total	331	40	12

Table 10: Teacher B, Spring

	IU	AP	AP/IU
Sample 1	79	14	18
Sample 2	79	10	13
Sample 3	52	12	23
Sample 4	52	21	40
Total	262	57	22

Table 11: Teacher C, Fall

	IU	AP	AP/IU
Sample 1	84	2	2
Sample 2	77	3	4
Sample 3	74	7	10
Sample 4	62	3	5
Total	297	15	5

Table 12: Teacher C, Spring

	IU	AP	AP/IU
Sample 1	61	2	3
Sample 2	80	7	9
Sample 3	109	2	2
Sample 4	44	4	9
Total	294	15	5

Table 13: All Teachers, Fall

	IU	AP	AP/IU
1st Samples	260	22	9
2nd Samples	311	29	9
3rd Samples	312	46	15
4th Samples	62	3	5
Total	945	100	11

Table 14: All Teachers, Spring

	IU	AP	AP/IU
1st Samples	255	33	13
2nd Samples	256	29	11
3rd Samples	212	26	12
4th Samples	150	32	21
Total	873	120	14

As shown in these tables, frequency of affective particle use varies widely from teacher to teacher and class to class, ranging from a low of five affective particles per 100 IUs to a high of 22 affective particles per 100 IUs.

Affective Particles Used in the Conversational Corpora

In contrast with the classroom corpus, we find a much greater variety of affective particles used in the conversational corpora. Table 15 displays the affective particles used in the conversational corpora, with the total occurrences of each particle appearing in the far right column.

Table 15: Affective Particles and Intonation Units in the Conversational Corpora

Key: AP=affective particles; IU=intonation unit

	Bar n (%)	**Restaurant** n (%)	**Living Room** n (%)	**Coffee Shop** n (%)	**Totals** n (%)
ne	4 (6)	61 (44)	9 (16)	16 (20)	90 (26)
no	24 (35)	22 (16)	22 (39)	18 (23)	86 (25)
sa	19 (28)	20 (14)	12 (21)	18 (23)	69 (20)
yo	11 (16)	19 (14)	6 (11)	8 (10)	44 (13)
na	2 (3)	4 (3)	1 (2)	11 (14)	18 (5)
kana	3 (4)	2 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	8 (2)
wake	3 (4)	1(.7)	0	4 (5)	8 (2)
mon	0	5 (4)	0	1 (1)	6 (2)
deshoo	0	2 (1)	3 (5)	1 (1)	6 (2)
daroo	2 (3)	1 (.7)	2 (4)	0	5 (1)
wa	0	1 (.7)	0	0	1 (.3)
ya	1(1)	0	0	0	1 (.3)
kashira	0	0	1 (2)	0	1 (.3)
Total AP	69	138	57	79	343
IU	200	234	204	159	797
AP per 100 IU	35	59	28	50	43

While only seven different affective particles were used in the classroom corpus, 13 different affective particles appeared in the conversational corpora. As in the classroom corpus, *ne* was the most frequently occurring particle. However, while *ne* accounted for 86% of all affective particles used in the classroom, for the conversational corpora *ne* accounts for only 26% (90 out of 343) of the affective particles that emerged.

As shown in Table 15, *ne* is the most frequent affective particle in the conversational corpora, but this is not true for each of the individual conversations which make up the corpora. In fact, *ne* was the most frequent affective particle only in the "Restaurant." In the "Bar" and the "Living Room" the most frequently occurring particle was *no*. In the "Coffee Shop" *no* and *sa* were the most frequently occurring affective particles. These differences reflect the variety of conversational styles used by Japanese native speakers when conversing with one another, as well as possible register differences used between friends and colleagues. This contrasts with the classroom corpus where *ne* was the most frequent particle in every case. The consistency of the classroom corpus in contrast to the inconsistency of the conversational corpora may well reflect the similarities in data collection environments and relationships between participants—all class sessions recorded involved language teachers teaching beginning Japanese students in classrooms. While the teachers do each use a slightly different range of affective particles (with the exception of Teacher C who uses only two), the fact that *ne* is overwhelmingly the most frequent in all class sessions recorded may well be a result of the similarity of the classes recorded.

Frequency of Affective Particles in the Conversational Corpora

Analysis of the frequency of affective particles in the classroom and conversational corpora reveals that affective particles are used much more frequently in ordinary conversation than in the classroom corpus. The frequency of affective particles per 100 IUs for the 4 conversations making up the conversational corpora are displayed at the bottom of Table 15. From the total of all interactions in the conversational corpora, 43 affective particles were used per 100 IUs, ranging from a low of 28 affective particles per 100 IUs, to a high of 59 affective particles per 100 IUs.

Tables 16 and 17 display averaged data for the conversational corpora and the classroom corpus respectively:

Table 16: Affective Particle Frequency in the Conversational Corpora

	IU	AP	AP/IU
Bar	200	69	35
Restaurant	234	138	59
Living Room	204	57	28
Coffee Shop	159	79	50
Totals	797	343	**43**

Table 17: Affective Particle Frequency in the Classroom Corpus, Fall & Spring

	IU	AP	AP/IU
1st Samples	515	55	11
2nd Samples	567	58	10
3rd Samples	524	72	14
4th Samples	212	35	17
Total	1818	220	**12**

As shown, the frequency of affective particles used in the conversational corpora averages 43 per 100 IUs, contrasted with the classroom corpus in which the average frequency is 12 per 100 IUs. The results of a T-test confirm that this difference is statistically significant at the .025 level.

Teacher and Class Variations in Affective Particle Use

As Tables 7 through 14 show, frequency of affective particle use in the classroom corpus varies for each teacher and for each class. However, according to the results of the ANOVA, none of these apparent differences are statistically significant. Teacher B does use affective particles much more frequently in Spring (21.76 affective particles per 100 IUs) than in Fall (12.08 affective particles per 100 IUs). This difference reflects the teacher's inclusion of a conversational narrative (a personal anecdote) in Sample 4, where the number of affective particles per 100 IUs jumped to 40.38. While the resulting difference in frequency was not statistically significant, these data suggest that the use of conversational narratives may increase the frequency of affective particles used. Statistically significant differences in frequency of use between teachers were found. Results of the ANOVA show significant differences in Teacher C's frequency of affective particle use as compared to that of Teachers A and B. Teacher C used affective particles less frequently than did Teachers A and B, a difference that is statistically significant at the .001 level.

Quantitative analyses show that affective particles are used much less frequently in the elementary foreign language classroom than in ordinary conversation. The results also indicate that compared to ordinary conversation, fewer different affective particles are used in the classroom. While the three teachers are each consistent in their particle use from Fall to Spring quarters, significant differences do exist between teachers, with Teacher C using affective particles much less frequently than Teachers A and B.

Differences Between Teachers in Affective Particle Use

The differences between teachers can be attributed to a number of factors. Affective particles were found in a wide variety of classroom activities, including exemplifying, directives, transitions, informing, self-addressed speech, storytelling, and assessments.[9] One reason that more affective particles emerged in Teacher A and B's speech as compared to that of Teacher C is that Teacher A and B's classes were organized around use of a variety of activities, resulting in frequent particle-laden transitions from activity to activity. However, even within the same type of activity, Teachers A and B used more affective particles than Teacher C. Results of qualitative analysis reveal that while variety and type of activity as well as the number of transitions between activities definitely influence affective particle use, a more important factor impacting the frequency of affective particle use is the stance of the teachers towards their roles in the classroom.

Teacher Stance and Classroom Language Use

What activities did these teachers perform in the classroom that caused the language of one teacher to be so different from that of the other two? As affective markers have been shown time and again to be markers of communicative stance, do these differences in affective particle use result from differences in how these three teachers view their roles in their classrooms? Interviews with the three teachers revealed that Teacher C did indeed profess a different view of her role in the classroom and a different philosophy towards teaching Japanese from those of Teachers A and B. Teachers A and B stated that their main concern was to help students communicate in Japanese. Teacher C also viewed the teaching of communicative skills as one of her responsibilities, however, she explained that teaching students proper grammar was a more important goal. Analysis of the actual class sessions shows that the teachers taught in accordance with their stated goals, with Teacher C focusing more on grammatical accuracy and Teachers A and B focusing on communicative tasks. The textbooks used also reflected the teachers' goals, with Teachers A and B using a textbook organized according to conversational topics, and Teacher C, one which followed a strict structural syllabus, lacking both topic integration and communicative focus. An additional factor could be the teachers' different pedagogical training, with Teachers A and B being recent graduates of TESL programs where communicative teaching methodology was taught, while Teacher C had had no formal training as a language teacher and only worked with textbooks prepared according to audiolingual methodology.

Qualitative analysis of the language used by these three teachers reveals that the teachers' different stances are fleshed out in how they use language and affective particles in interaction with their students, thereby impacting the frequency of affective particle use—Teacher A and B's stances as communication facilitators and Teacher C's stance as a teacher of grammar. The impact of teacher stance on particle use is particularly clear in teacher use of *assessments.*

The Use of Assessments in the Classroom

One area in which teacher differences in stance clearly emerge is in the use of *assessments* by teachers in the classroom. Teachers used *ne*-marked *assessments*, in other words, personal reactions to a student's answer (cf. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987; Pomerantz, 1984) in the follow-up turn of the IRF^{10} sequence. *Ne*-marked assessments were most frequently personal reactions to the *content* of the student's utterance, containing a clearly articulated *assessment segment* (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987) in the form of an adjective. Assessments are one way speakers can display affect in Japanese by sharing personal reactions and showing interest in the ongoing interaction.

While Teachers A and B (the teachers who use affective particles the most often) do follow-up turn assessments frequently, Teacher C (who uses affective particles significantly less frequently) almost never uses assessments. The following excerpt shows how Teacher B uses follow-up assessments in classroom interaction. In the follow-up turn marked in line 7, Teacher B provides her own personal reaction to the information relayed by the student through the use of an assessment.

1) 1 T: *Ee:to. John-san to Sara-san?*
U::h. John and Sara?

2 *John-san. Sara-san wa shuumatsu ni nani o shimashita?*
John. What did Sara do over the weekend?

3 John: *Um:: (.) Sara-san wa:: (.) Los Angeles made:: e ikimashita.*
Um:: (.) Sara went to Los Angeles.

4 T: *Un. Doko e ikimashita?*
Oh. Where did she go?

5 John: *Hai, uh, Los Angeles*
Yes, uh, Los Angeles.

6 T: *(   ) Sara-san L.A. shiataa e ikimashita.*
(   ) Sara went to the theater in Los Angeles.

7 —> *Ii desu ne::.*
How ni::ce *ne::.*

In line 7, the teacher provides an overt assessment of John's description of Sara's visit to the theater, commenting *Ii desu ne::* "How nice, *ne:'*. Note that *ne* is uttered with a lengthened vowel and falling intonation—this use of vowel lengthening and falling intonation is a characteristic common to *ne*-marked assessments in the classroom corpus under examination here.[11] As she utters *ne::* in line 7, Teacher B looks around at the other students in the class, drawing them into the interaction through her eye contact as she models for them an appropriate conversational move in Japanese.

Teacher A also uses *ne*-marked follow-up turn assessments. Excerpt 2 below provides an example of Teacher A's use of assessments:

2) 1 T: *Sue-san wa yoku kaimono o shimasu.*
Sue goes shopping often.

2 *Doko de shimasu ka? Doko de shimasu ka?*
Where do you shop? Where do you shop?

3 *Depaato de? Suupaa de?*
At a department store? At the supermarket?

4 Sue: Uh, uh:: Bullocks.

5 T: *Bullocks! Bullocks de yoku kaimono o shimasu.*
Bullocks! She shops often at Bullocks.

6 —> *Okanemochi desu ne::. ( )*
You're rich *ne::.*

7 —> *Sue-san wa okanemochi desu ne::.*
Sue is rich, *ne*::.

The assessments at lines 6 and 7 are marked with *ne*::. (falling intonation). Just as Teacher B drew students into the interaction through her eye-contact in excerpt (1), here in excerpt (2) Teacher A does something quite similar. While in line 6 she looks at Sue during her assessment, in the assessment in line 7 the teacher looks at the class as a whole, drawing them into the interaction through her eye gaze, thereby allowing them to participate in her production of a *ne*-marked assessment.

None of the teachers did assessments such as these in every follow-up turn. Rather than doing assessments in the follow-up turn, the teachers sometimes skipped this turn or chose not to do assessments. A teacher's use or lack of use of the follow-up turn as a place to show personal reaction to a student response displays the teacher's stance towards the activity being conducted—a stance towards the activity as being either communicative in nature or as a type of grammatical/linguistic practice. In excerpt 3 below, the lack of assessments during the follow-up turn shows Teacher C's focus to be on the use of the question/answer activity as grammatical practice, in contrast to the above excerpts where the teacher uses assessments to show personal reaction to the student's utterance, even using eye-gaze to draw the whole class into the affect being expressed. Instead of using assessments Teacher C either skips the follow-up turn completely, proceeding to begin a new *initiation* turn question, or else she does one of the following interactive moves: marks the receipt of new information (Schiffrin, 1987) with the *change-of-state token* (Heritage, 1984) *Aa*, (lines 3, 23, 26), does a *repair-initiation* (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) (line 16), does a *confirmation* of the student's answer through the use of repetition (lines 7, 10, 13, 20, 23, 26), does a *disconfirmation* in line 17, or does an *expansion* of the student's utterance into a more complete or more emphatic response (line 16).

3) 1 T: *Sam-san. Eeto: (.) Supootsu o shimasu ka?*
Mr. Sam. Uh:: (.) Do you do sports?

2 Sam: *Uh: Hai. Uh: basketball o shimasu.*
Uh: Yes. Uh: I play basketball.

3 —> T: *Aa:.*
Oh:.

4 *Joozu desu ka?*
Are you good at it?

5 Sam: *U:m. Ii[e, ((laughter)) mada joozu (.) dewa*
arimasen.
U:m. N[o, ((laughter)) I'm not good at it
yet.

6 —> T: *[Iie?*
[No?

7 —> T: *Mada joozu dewa arimasen.*
You're not good at it yet.

8 T: *Doko de:, basukettobooru o shimasu ka?*
Where do you play basketball?

9 Sam: U:m Culver City *de: shimasu.*
U:m I play in Culver City.

10 —> T: Culver City *de:, shimasu.*
You play in Culver City.

11 *Jaa. Leekaazu no geemu o mimasu ka? //Lakers no.*
So. Do you watch Laker games?// Laker games.

12 Sam: *Hai, mimasu.*
Yes, I watch (Laker games).

13 —> T: *Mimasu?*
You watch?

14 *Scott-san mo?*
Mr. Scott, (do you watch) also?

15 Scott: *Mo.*
Also.

16 —> T: *Mo. Watashi mo? ((laughing))*
Also. I also? ((laughing))

17 —> *Mo: dake ja dame ((laughing))*
You can't just say "also" ((laughing))

18 T: *Hai? (.) Watashi mo.*
Repeat? (.) I also.

19 Scott: *Um: watashi mo:: (.) mimashita.*
Um: I also watched

20 —> T: *Mimashita.*
(You) watched.

21 *Itsu. Kinoo?*
When. Yesterday?

22 Scott: *Kinoo?*
Yesterday?

23 —> T: *Aa. Kinoo. Hai.*
Oh. Yesterday. Okay.

24 *Leekaazu ga suki desu ka?*
Do you like the Lakers?

25 Scott: *Hai (.)// Leekaazu ga suki desu*
Yes (.) // I like the Lakers

26 —> T: *Aa. Leekaazu ga dai- daisuki desu.*
Oh. You love the Lakers.

In the above excerpt, in the follow-up turns (marked with arrows) there is a notable *absence* of affective particles. Furthermore, the teacher does not do assessments. In addition, throughout this exchange the teacher focuses her attention on Sam and Scott without drawing the rest of the class into the interaction. The use of assessments seems to provide a place where teachers can involve the class in the interaction through eye-gaze in a way not noted when assessments are absent from a question/answer activity. In this way, we can see how students are being socialized into different ways of interacting in Japanese. By using assessments, teachers draw students into the interaction, showing them one way to display affect appropriately in Japanese. Exchanges like those shown in excerpt 3 above, however, socialize students quite differently. While students are learning to understand and answer questions, they are not being given the opportunity to observe how affective particles may be appropriately used in Japanese conversation to show interest in the ongoing interaction.

While all three teachers use affective particles, quantitative analysis revealed that Teacher C used sentential particles less frequently. Qualitative analysis of language use including the analysis of the use of *ne*-marked assessments, reveals that Teachers A and B have a markedly different stance towards their classroom roles as compared to Teacher C, and that these stances are constructed through the language each teacher uses in interaction with her students.

CONCLUSION

This study has shown 1) how classroom language use differs from ordinary conversation in Japanese in terms of the range of affective particles used as well as their frequency, 2) the range and frequency of affective particles used longitudinally over an academic year in the first-year Japanese classes of three different teachers, and 3) how affective particle use is impacted by teacher stance towards her classroom role, with specific examples drawn from teacher use of assessments. The differences in range of affective particles used and in frequency of particle use between the classroom and target-native face to face conversation show that if Japanese language students are expected eventually to acquire language appropriate for interaction with target language natives, then students must be exposed to affective particle use beyond what normally emerges in the foreign language classroom. While few teaching materials are available at this time, in my opinion students need more experience listening to naturalistic conversation between target natives in a format accessible to their level. Interactive multimedia applications could be developed to meet this need.

In addition, while this study of three teachers' language use cannot be generalized as applying to every classroom language teacher, the result that teaching philosophy (as realized in teacher stances toward their classroom roles) influences classroom language is potentially applicable across classrooms. This study shows how a difference in stance can result in a richer language environment in terms of the use of affective particles in Japanese. The two teachers who viewed their most important role as providing students with communicative interaction in Japanese used affective particles more frequently, thereby enriching the input available for student acquisition of affective particles and providing students with a greater opportunity to be socialized into appropriate ways of expressing affect in Japanese.[12] As shown in this paper, by using *ne*-marked assessments in response to student utterances, the teachers effectively modeled for students a kind of conversational move and its sequential location in conversation. By drawing students into the assessment process through eye-gaze, the teachers increased the salience of these assessments. Through use of these assessments teachers show their students how to appropriately display personal affect in conversation, specifically how to show interest in what the interlocutor is talking about, illustrating to students where in a sequence *ne* may occur: in assessments following a question-answer sequence or, more generally, following the appearance of information interesting to the recipient.

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This study could not have been accomplished without the three teachers who generously invited me into their classrooms. I am grateful to them for the inspiration they have given me. I would also like to thank Elinor Ochs and Pat Clancy for their guidance. Thank you also to the anonymous reviewers whose helpful comments and criticism have improved the quality of this paper.

NOTES

[1] See Early (1985), Chaudron (1988), Håkansson (1987), and Ellis (1990) for overviews of previous studies of the language of the classroom.

[2] To *index* means to signal, or to relate a linguistic symbol to a feature of the communicative or social context. For further discussion, see Ochs (1988).

[3] Classroom discourse and ordinary conversation are completely different genres of language use, and comparison of the range and frequency of affective particles use is not meant to imply that conversation and classroom discourse are similar. Rather, it is to highlight their differences. One major goal of teaching students to speak a foreign language is to prepare them for interaction with target natives outside of the classroom. Comparison of the speech used in the classroom with everyday conversation should provide one measure of the adequacy of classroom language as a means for preparing students for interaction with native speakers in non-pedagogical situations.

[4] *Affect* refers to a speaker's emotional orientation and feelings about the ongoing interaction, including the speaker's attitude towards the propositional content of any particular utterance, as well as the speaker's point of view and overall feelings about the topic, interlocutors, context, and other variables involved in the interaction (Besnier, 1990; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989). *Epistemological disposition* refers to the speaker's evaluation of the truth-value of any particular utterance.

[5] Affect and epistemological disposition are both expressed through the use of *stance*--the expression of the speaker's point of view through language. When a stance expresses speaker affect, it is referred to as an *affective stance*, and the speaker's epistemological disposition is revealed through the use of *epistemic stance.*

[6] The Intonation Unit was originally found to be a reliable unit of analysis for English. See DuBois et al. (1992), Chafe (1987, Crystal (1969).

[7] In one class, the teacher read extensively from the textbook. This lengthy segment was removed prior to sampling. Therefore, samples of teacher language are from talk directed to the class as a whole or from interactive talk with particular students or groups of students.

[8] These corpora were transcribed by Ryoko Suzuki at the University of California, Santa Barbara, using transcription conventions from DuBois et al. (1992). The data were made available to me by Patricia Clancy, and are part of the data base from a University of California Pacific Rim Grant funded from 1990-1993. The principal researchers were Patricia Clancy, Sandra Thompson and Charles Li, and the title of the project is "A Comparative Study of Communication Strategies among Five Major Pacific Rim Languages."

[9] Unfortunately, space limitations prevent full discussion of these different activities. Description of classroom activities and interactions are available in Ohta (1993).

[10] IRF is an activity that can be performed in up to three turns, the initiation, response, and follow-up turns. The term is adapted from Mehan (1985), with 'follow-up' rather than 'evaluation' being used to describe the third turn of the sequence since the content of the third turn need not be an actual evaluation (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Sinclair & Brazil, 1982). The follow-up turn is defined by its sequential location and function as a second-pair part to the student response and as the third turn of the three-turn activity. In addition ,while Mehan (1985) defines the *Initiation* as the place where the teacher asks a question of a student, I am using the term more broadly to refer to utterances made by the teacher or student which elicit an oral response. My use of the term 'initiation' is narrower than that used by Sinclair and Coulthard who consider the initiation to be divided into four groups according to the function of the initiation, whether *informing, directing, eliciting* or *checking*. In my use of the term, I am referring only to utterances which elicit an oral response. Informing and directing, therefore, are not included in my use of the term initiation.

[11] *Ii desu ne?* with rising intonation is not an assessment but generally means "Okay?" or "All right?"

[12] An anonymous reviewer inquired that, if this is true, why don't students of Teachers A and B use affective particles with greater frequency than Teacher C's students. The fact is that affective particles are rarely used by students in any of the classes. In my opinion, acquisition of affective particle use takes time, and that the kind of socialization discussed here lays an important foundation. However, I believe that students need specific guidance and practice related to affective particle use. Suggestions of how this may be accomplished may be found in Ohta (1993). Specific study of the acquisition of affective particles by students of Japanese is an important area for further study.

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English and Japanese Demonstratives: A Contrastive Analysis of Second Language Acquisition

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As seemingly simple and straightforward constructions, demonstratives are taught to foreign language learners at a rather early stage in their language instruction. For native speakers of Japanese, English "this" and "that" seem fairly easy to acquire, just as the Japanese demonstratives ***ko, so****, and* ***a*** *seem like unproblematic constructions for native speakers of English. However, language teachers often find that even fairly advanced learners of Japanese or English have trouble with many of the less transparent issues surrounding demonstrative usage.*

The present paper focuses on the demonstratives "this," "that," ***ko, so****, and* ***a*** *and the peculiar problems that they pose for L2 students. We will show that in accordance with Strauss (1993a, 1993b) and Kinsui and Takubo (1990, 1992), instruction of demonstratives based on the traditional analysis of plus/minus proximity is inadequate. Data from intermediate and advanced L2 learners as well as from native speakers of each language are examined according to recent models (i.e., Strauss' focus schema and Kinsui and Takubo's domain theory of the speaker's experience/perception), which prove to be promising alternatives in teaching demonstratives to L2 learners of Japanese and English.*

INTRODUCTION

While the appropriate use of demonstratives by native speakers of English and Japanese in their respective L1s is effortless, the same cannot be said about these constructions in English and Japanese as a second/foreign language. Although these functional lexical items are usually presented to language learners at a very early stage of instruction, complete acquisition only occurs at a fairly advanced level.

Especially challenging are those situations in which a learner must use a system different from the native two- or three-step system (e.g., English to Japanese and vice versa). Traditionally *ko*, *so*, and *a* are taught as the direct equivalents to "this" and "that," and in order to keep the issue simple, course textbooks tend to focus on spatio-temporal deixis or plus/minus proximity as a basis for determining the appropriate use of each form; very little, if any, description is based on discourse reference or the type of emotional impact that

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the choice of one word over another may imply. Teachers of English and Japanese as a foreign language to learners with the opposite L1 background often find that even advanced students encounter a range of difficulties in using these seemingly simple five lexical items.

Our pilot studies (Hayashi, 1991 in English; Niimura, 1992 in Japanese) reveal that the area which poses the most difficulty for L2 learners in the acquisition of demonstratives in English and Japanese is discourse reference. In addition, we found, to our surprise, that even spatio-temporal deixis was not fully acquired by advanced learners. In this paper, we have expanded the original study with a larger subject pool and gathered more data with an additional cloze test. The data are closely examined and discussed in relation to the recent models of English demonstratives (Strauss, 1993a, 1993b) and Japanese demonstratives (Kinsui & Takubo, 1990, 1992), and we will conclude with some pedagogical implications.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

"This" and "that"

"This" and "that"[1] have been presented in grammar texts (e.g., Frank, 1972; Leech & Svartvik, 1975; Quirk et al., 1985) as demonstratives in a two-step system in English. According to these accounts and others, "this" and "that" indicate spatio-temporal distance (i.e., pointing to a referent near or not near the speaker in the domains of space and time). Halliday discusses demonstratives in terms of discourse reference, particularly with respect to anaphora, something already mentioned in the discourse; cataphora, something yet to be mentioned; or exophora, something relevant to but outside of the immediate discourse. Other studies suggest that the concept of 'proximity to the speaker' may also be related to psychological and emotional proximity and that these demonstratives thus express certain psychological attitudes in addition to spatio-temporal deixis (Lakoff, 1974; Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Lyons, 1977). All of these earlier accounts are based on sentence level examples.

Examining an extensive corpus of various genres of spontaneous spoken discourse (e.g., telephone conversation, radio talk show, history lecture, social gathering), Strauss (1993a, 1993b) proposes an alternative model to the traditional notion of plus/minus proximity to speaker, basing her framework on that developed by Kirsner (1979, 1990) and Diver (1984) and adding to current theory that "it" should also be included in the analysis of the demonstratives "this" and "that." Strauss demonstrates that the traditional notions of plus/minus proximity cannot effectively account for the distribution of the three forms in her database, noting the strikingly low frequency of tokens used in contexts where actual distance could be measured and the high frequency of tokens in contexts where actual distance could never be measured. Instead, she proposes a more dynamic and participant interactive account in which "this" represents the referentially *high focus* form, "that," the *mid focus* form, and "it," the referentially *low focus* form. Focus in this framework involves the degree of attention on the referent, and she further notes that there are two additional factors which are "subordinate to and implicit in the notion of degree of focus motivating the speaker's choice of forms : 1) the relative amount of information that the speaker presumes the hearer to have with respect to the referent, and 2) the relative importance of the referent itself to the speaker" (1993a, p. 404). The model is reproduced in Figure 1 below:

	Form	MEANING SIGNAL	Hearer	Referent
degree of attention to pay to referent	**This**	HIGH FOCUS	new information (not shared)	important
	That	MEDIUM FOCUS	↓	↓
	It	LOW FOCUS	shared information	unimportant

Figure 1: Strauss' (1993a, 1993b) schema of focus for demonstrative reference

Our initial hypothesis is that this schema of 'FOCUS,' together with the incorporation of "it" into the scope of linguistic analysis will benefit Japanese learners of English by providing a clearer picture of the types of elements which motivate demonstrative use by native speakers in actual discourse. In order to test this hypothesis preliminarily, we elicited English data from both L2 learners and native speakers to examine the feasibility of pedagogical contributions of this model.

Ko, *so*, and *a*

The Japanese demonstratives, which begin with the prefixes *ko-*, *so-*, and *a-* appear in a variety of lexical items and functions. The range of forms that this paper will examine include phrases such as *kore*, *sore*, *are* (for inanimates) *koko, soko, asoko* (for locations), *konna, sonna, anna* (as type modifiers), and so forth. For the purpose of this study, all of the above mentioned forms will be categorized simply as *ko, so,* and *a*.

Traditional accounts of *ko, so,* and *a* seem to be based on the spatio-temporal aspects of demonstratives such that *ko* is used for a close referent, *a* for a distant referent, and *so* for referents in between. In particular, Sakuma (1936) explained *ko, so,* and *a* by introducing the concept of the Speaker and the Hearer. In Sakuma's framework, the Speaker and Hearer stand in opposition to each other; the Speaker's territory is expressed with *ko*, the Hearer's with *so* and referents which do not involve either the Speaker's or the Hearer's territory are marked with *a*.

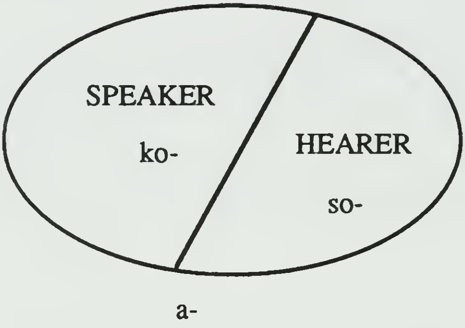

Figure 2: Sakuma's (1936) model

Sakuma's model, although far from comprehensive, was accepted as the basic model of Japanese demonstratives for many years. Sakata (1971) extended this model by proposing that there are cases in which the Speaker and the Hearer share the same space. Combining the models of Sakuma (1936) and Sakata (1971), Takahashi and Suzuki (1982) suggest an even more complete model as shown in Figure 3.

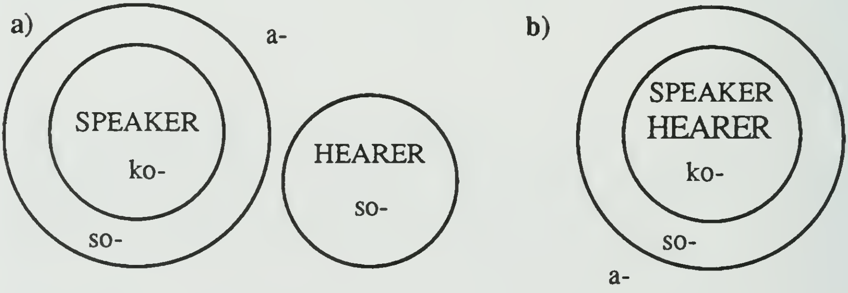

Figure 3: Takahashi & Suzuki's (1982) model

The Takahashi and Suzuki model reflects a dual system: one in which the viewpoints of the Speaker and Hearer stand in opposition to each other (Figure 3-a), and one in which the Speaker and Hearer share the same space with the same viewpoint (Figure 3-b). Distinguishing between the two different viewpoints (i.e., opposing and sharing stances) is important for Japanese demonstrative studies, but they are still within a traditional Speaker-Hearer framework.

In contrast to the above Speaker/Hearer type of framework, Kuroda (1979) and Horiguchi (1978) propose radically different approaches. Both Kuroda (1979) and Horiguchi (1978) claim that the selection of *ko, so,* and *a* depends exclusively on the Speaker's psychological proximity to and involvement with a referent. Hence, in these models, the role of the Hearer is significantly weakened.

Kamio (1979, 1986) elaborates the notion of 'territory' into the "Theory of Territory (*nawabari*) of Information," a dynamic theory with wide application. Kamio argues that psychological proximity between Speaker/Hearer and the information in the sentence (or referent in the case of demonstratives) determines the types of sentence structure as well as the choice of one form over the other.

New insights in the area of Japanese demonstratives were introduced by Kinsui and Takubo (1990, 1992), who propose a comprehensive account of the deictic and discourse uses of demonstratives, incorporating Kamio's theory of territory of information and Fauconnier's (1985) "mental spaces" theory. Kinsui and Takubo developed a new model of Japanese demonstratives in which an object perceived in the real world is placed in "mental spaces" to be linguistically coded and dealt with in a similar way as it would be in discourse reference. Kinsui and Takubo argue that the choice of demonstratives in Japanese depends on the Speaker's psychological proximity to the referent. According to this framework, then, whether or not the referent is in the domain of the Speaker's direct experience is a crucial factor. *Ko* and *a* are used for referents in the domain of the Speaker's direct experience, with *ko* signaling a highlighted referent and *a* a non-highlighted one. According to this framework, it could also be said that *ko* is used for a referent which is in the Speaker's control or influence, *a* for a referent beyond the Speaker's control, and *so* for a referent which is not in the domain of the Speaker's direct or personal experience. Thus, an object in the Hearer's direct or personal experience is referred to using *so* because from the Speaker's viewpoint, it does not belong in the domain of the Speaker's direct experience.

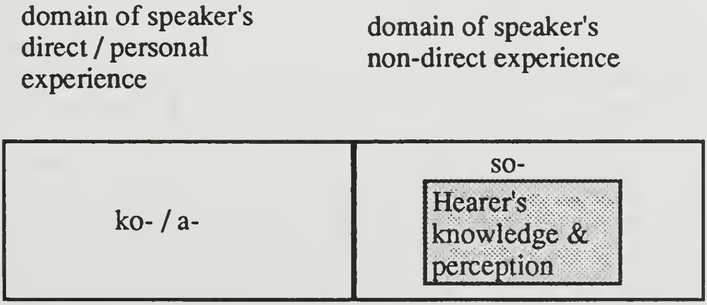
domain of speaker's direct / personal experience
domain of speaker's non-direct experience
ko- / a-
so-
Hearer's knowledge & perception

Figure 4: Kinsui & Takubo's (1990, 1992) framework

Kinsui and Takubo also propose a 'trigger hierarchy' for the choice of Japanese demonstratives where more than one demonstrative is possible. In this case, the choice is made primarily on the basis of real space; the next criterion would be based on real/direct experience. This is apparently not the case with English—a fact which highlights just how different the demonstrative systems are in the two languages.

In the traditional literature, then, both English and Japanese demonstratives were explained predominantly on the basis of plus/minus proximity and distance which has proved to be insufficient to account for the distribution of forms in discourse data. As mentioned previously, Strauss has shown that this distinction actually fails to account for the form distribution in English and has established an alternative model. Furthermore, Strauss' framework is similar to that proposed by Kinsui and Takubo in that the speaker's choice of demonstrative is highly subjective.

However, there are also significant differences between these models, particularly with respect to the discussion of the factors determining choice of form. In the model for English, demonstrative choice is determined primarily in the domain of FOCUS or "degree of attention to be paid to a particular referent," with two other subordinate factors (i.e., the relative amount of information that is presumed by the speaker to be shared with the listener and the degree of importance placed on the referent by the speaker). In contrast, in the Japanese model, demonstrative choice is first made within the domain of the speaker's experience. That is, the form of the referent is determined by the domain it falls in, the speaker's direct experience, or the speaker's indirect experience. If the referent is in the domain of the speaker's direct experience, the notion of highlighting the referent comes into play. When different options are available in choosing a demonstrative for a referent, real space (i.e., physical proximity) assumes primacy.

METHODOLOGY AND SUBJECTS

A cooperative pilot study (Hayashi, 1991; Niimura, 1992) revealed that native speakers of Japanese and English find it difficult to acquire demonstratives in the L2, despite the fact that these lexical items are introduced very early in second language classrooms. In an attempt to analyze more deeply what types of conceptual problems these forms pose to L2 learners of Japanese and English and to thereby suggest some future improvements to the existing explanations and grammatical accounts for each language, we developed a set of cloze tests which would help to determine more precisely those factors which motivate native speakers in their choice of demonstratives as well as those factors which might be influencing the choice by L2 speakers at their various levels of proficiency.

The data for this paper were gathered from three separate cloze tests that were designed and administered by the authors. The tests were administered to a large number of subjects, including both L2 learners and native speakers in Japan, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

The subjects[2] were placed into one of the following groups: (A) English speakers: 1) native speakers of English, 2) Japanese nationals who are advanced-level speakers of English, 3) Japanese nationals who are intermediate-level speakers of English; (B) Japanese speakers: 4) native speakers of Japanese, 5) native speakers of English who are advanced-level speakers of Japanese, and 6) English native speakers who are intermediate-level speakers of Japanese.

The native speakers of English included people of six different nationalities, with the majority being British (40) or American (47).[3] The five remaining speakers were from New Zealand, Australia, Ireland, and India. These native speaker subjects ranged in age from teenagers to adults in their sixties, and their occupations also spanned a wide range, from office clerks and retired gardeners, to language and linguistics teachers. The advanced non-native speakers of English are Japanese nationals living in the USA, the UK, or Japan and working in fields which require the use of English such as university professors of English literature, linguistics, and language; high school English teachers; researchers; interpreters; translators; and office workers. They too ranged in age from their 20s to their 60s. The intermediate level non-native speakers of English are sophomores, juniors, and seniors in the English Literature and Linguistics Department of a small private college in northeastern Japan. All subjects in this last group are female.

The native speakers of Japanese are mostly Japanese language teachers or students at Japanese universities and ranged in age from their 20s to 60s. The advanced non-native speakers of Japanese are all professionals working in Japan such as university instructors, translators, or specialists in cross-cultural training or business management. The length of stay in Japan for these subjects at the time of data collection ranged from 3.5 to 13 years. This group, consisting of both male and female subjects, also range in age from their 20s to 60s, and have no problem in daily communication in Japanese; many have a high level of competence in reading and writing Japanese as well. The last group, the intermediate level non-native speakers of Japanese, consists of foreign students learning Japanese at private universities in Tokyo and English university students majoring in Japanese in London. All were native speakers of English who were mostly in their 20s. Their length of stay in Japan was from less than one year to two years.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The cloze tests have been reproduced in the appendices: Cloze Test A, based on a British comic strip, was designed to test for spatio-temporal deixis and discourse reference use of "this," "that," and "it" in English; Cloze Test B was designed for the English discourse use (anaphoric and cataphoric) of "this" and "that;" and Cloze Test C, to test for both spatio-temporal deixis and discourse reference for Japanese *ko* , *so* , and *a*. The results of the three cloze tests are also shown in the Appendices 1, 2, and 3, respectively.

Let us first look at some of the factors involved in spatio-temporal deixis in English. Examples (1) - (3) below are excerpted from Cloze Test A. This test was devised through the use of a British comic strip, "Beryl the Peril."[4] We removed all demonstrative referents (i.e., "this," "that," and "it") from the cartoon and replaced them with a blank; the subjects were asked to fill in the blank with the most appropriate demonstrative form. Examples (1) and (2) appear to be clear examples of spatial deixis.

The utterance in Example (1) appears as item A-1 on the cloze test. It is also excerpted from the initial frame in the comic (i.e., it is the opening line of the story). In this example, Beryl's father notices a stain on the carpet and bends down to have a closer look. His utterance, simultaneous to his intent examination of the carpet, appears as follows:

(1)
[Cloze item A-1]

"HMM! _1_ A BAD STAIN ON THE CARPET! "

The speaker's face is very close to the stain and there would be no question that this is an instance of plus proximity, yet only 28% of the native speakers chose "this is" for item A-1. Instead, 68% of the native speakers opted for "that's" —our first piece of evidence in support of Strauss' (1993a, 1993b) hypothesis. What seems to be going on here is that "this," being a high focus marker and thus worthy of heightened attention, is not the preferred answer. The speaker just noticed something and commented on it to himself, without showing any type of strong curiosity about what he is looking at.

In sharp contrast, 69% of the advanced level L2 speakers and 71% of the intermediate level (native speakers of Japanese) selected "this" as the most appropriate response, which we feel is influenced by the fact that the speaker's face is so close to the stain on the carpet. In Japanese, the demonstrative *ko* can be the only appropriate answer in this type of context because, according to Kinsui and Takubo (1990, 1992) anything within the speaker's territory, especially something within physical reach, would be referred to by *ko*. Actual space takes primacy in the choice of demonstratives in Japanese, but not in English.

In Example (2), from Cloze item A-4, Beryl's father finds a piece of paper on the floor, which looks like a handwritten note of some type. He is standing upright, looking down at the paper and utters:

(2)
[Cloze item A-4]

"HELLO, WHAT'S __4__?"

In English, both "this" and "that" are entirely possible in this type of situation, however 76% of the native speakers chose "this" over "that" even though the father's physical distance from the referent is greater than in the first example. Just as in the first example, the father has noticed something on the carpet, but here, he seems to be showing a strong degree of curiosity which would also warrant the use of a high focus marker. The remaining 24% chose medium focus "that," probably because they wanted to express the relative physical distance of the object or some type of psychological remoteness on the part of the father, that is, his annoyance or irritation at finding a sheet of paper in the middle of the floor.

The results from the advanced EFL speakers indicate that 84% of the intermediate level speakers and 55% of the advanced level speakers chose "this" over "that." In an identical context in Japanese the appropriate response would still clearly be *ko* because the referent is still considered to be in a plus proximity relation to the speaker according to the Japanese system.

Thus, we could argue from Examples (1) and (2) (cloze items A-1 and A-4) that spatial deictic demonstratives in English are often chosen by the speaker on the basis of FOCUS, rather than solely (or even primarily) by the physical proximity of the referent, having witnessed the choice of medium focus "that" for (1) and a high focus "this" for (2) regardless of its actual physical proximity of the referent to the speaker. In contrast, the fact that Japanese demonstratives in spatial deixis are primarily bound by certain constraints of physical proximity may account for the fact that so many Japanese subjects opted for the less preferred "this" in Example (1).

Example (3) includes two instances of exophoric reference (Halliday & Hasan, 1976), in which case the referent is neither present in real space nor in the text, but understood from the context. These examples are taken from items A-2 and A-3 and appear in the third frame of the comic. In the second frame, immediately preceding this interaction (which contains no dialogue at all), Beryl is leapfrogging over her father, who is still bending down looking at the stain on the carpet. Items A-2 and A-3 both refer to Beryl's action of leapfrogging over her father.

(3)
[Cloze items A-2 and A-3]

Beryl:	"I JUST COULDN'T RESIST 2, DAD!"
Dad:	"WELL, LOOK OUT! I MEAN TO PAY YOU BACK FOR 3!"

For Cloze A-2, more native speakers (75%) chose the low focus "it" over "that," even though "that" appeared in the original wording of the comic strip. Some native speakers who chose "it" commented that they would actually prefer nothing in the blank, which also supports Strauss' characterization of "it" as being the least referentially strong in terms of focus of attention (since the next lower step would be a zero marking) as well as with the greatest degree of shared information and the lowest degree of importance to the referent—in this case, an action which the speaker herself has just done. Since cloze A-2 is associated with a past-time reference (even if this past time happened just a moment ago), "this" is not at all a likely choice. In terms of time, "*that* tends to be associated with a past-time referent and *this* for one in the present or future" (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 60). However, if we were to apply this to an identical context in Japanese, *ko* would be the preferred choice since the referent is in "the domain of the Speaker's direct experience" and also since it occurred at a time which is very close to the present, which, in Japanese, includes the near-past. This might well explain why 10% of both the advanced and intermediate level non-native speakers answered the item with "this." Not a single native speaker chose "this" as a possible answer.

In Cloze A-3, Beryl's father's utterance, we see that 64% of the native speakers chose "that" to refer to the action which took place just a second before, while 27% chose "this." Perhaps the native speakers who chose "this" did so because Beryl's father is still on the floor, and by using "this" they are expressing a present reality. Only 9% of the native speakers chose low focus "it."

It is interesting to now compare these native speaker results with the variation in responses from the non-native subjects, in which 18% of the advanced and 26% of the intermediate speakers chose "it;" 33% of the advanced and 54% of the intermediate speakers chose "that;" and 50% of the advanced and 20% of the intermediate speakers chose "this." This is again a case where *ko* would be used in an identical context in Japanese, because it refers to what the speaker himself has experienced in the near past. As seen in Cloze items A-2 and A-3, the notion of focus (high, medium, or low) seems to be given the most weight in the choice of demonstratives in English for exophoric reference, while the speaker's direct and/or personal experience as well as temporal proximity are heavily weighted in Japanese. These differences may account for the gap between the native and non-native choices.

Let us now turn to the data for spatio-temporal usage of Japanese demonstratives by L2 learners. Cloze Test C, testing for demonstratives in Japanese, is based on two conversations between friends, one short narrative passage, and one statement. The interaction shown in (4) is a conversation in Japanese between two friends, Akiko and Hiroshi. Akiko is showing Hiroshi a picture of her family. This set of Cloze items, C-1 through C-5 (except C-3), was designed to test deictic reference with *ko*. In this type of setting where two people are sitting side by side and one is showing a family photo to the other, any person in the photo would be referred to by *ko* when pointed out by the speaker, since the image of the person is within his/her reachable distance.

(4)
[Cloze C, items 1-5)

A. Akiko and Hiroshi are sitting close to each other.
Akiko is showing Hiroshi a picture of her family.

あき子：（　1　）れ、私の家族の写真よ.
Akiko: This is a picture of my family.
ひろし：どれどれ、よく見せて.
Hiroshi: Well, let me have a good look.
あき子：（　2　）れが私の父.　（　3　）のとなりにいるのが母.
母のうしろは弟.
Akiko: This is my father. The person next to him is my mother.
My brother is standing in back of her.
ひろし：あ、（　4　）の人はきっと妹さんでしょう？　とてもよく似ている.
Hiroshi: This (person) is your sister, I suppose. She looks just like you.
あき子：ええ、そう.
Akiko: Yes, that's right.
ひろし：妹さんのうしろの（　5　）の人は？
Hioshi: Who is the person in back of her?
あき子：妹のフィアンセよ.　来月結婚することになってるの。
Akiko: That's my sister's fiance. They're going to get married next
month.

The responses by the non-native speakers for Cloze C-1 ('This is a picture of my family') and C-2 ('This is my father') seem to fall within a fairly acceptable range. However, for C-4 ('This must be your sister'), 99% of the native speakers chose *ko*, in contrast with 69% of the advanced non-native speakers who chose *ko* and 37% of the intermediate speakers. For Cloze C-5 ('Who is the person behind her?'), the numbers are even more drastic: Ninety-nine percent of the native speakers again chose *ko*, in contrast with 53% and 12% of the advanced and intermediate level speakers. It would appear that non-native speakers do not apply Kinsui and Takubo's "real space priority" principle. Thus, it is evident that non-native speakers of both Japanese and English have not acquired full mastery of demonstratives for spatial deixis nor for exophoric usage.

We now turn our attention to English demonstrative usage in discourse reference (i.e., anaphoric and cataphoric), which was elicited by the comic strip cloze items A-5, A-6, and A-7. This area demonstrated marked differences between the native and non-native speakers in the study.

Cloze A-5 contains a clear instance of anaphoric reference, referring to the piece of paper that Beryl's father found on the floor originally introduced by "this" in the previous frame and in the previous example. Example (5) below repeats Cloze item A-4 for the sake of continuity and introduces Cloze item A-5:

(5)
[Cloze items A-4 and A-5]

Dad: (Finding a piece of paper on the floor)
"HELLO, WHAT'S 4 ?"
(Bending his knees to take a closer look at it)
" 5 SAYS 'IF YOU'RE LOOKING FOR BERYL,
SHE'S RIGHT BEHIND YOU!"

For A-5, 93% of the native speakers chose low focus "it." The non-native advanced speakers responded in a way very similar to native speakers; however, the responses from the intermediate level varied substantially, showing the following distribution: 79% chose "it," 18% chose "this" and 3% chose "that." In English, after a referent has already been introduced into a particular context, it would generally be replaced by the low focus marker "it" or other pronouns unless the speaker intends to highlight that referent in some way. This is not the case in Japanese. In Japanese, the same demonstrative would be used repeatedly for a referent and not replaced by any other pronoun (Kinsui & Takubo, 1990). For example, in this identical situation in Japanese, the piece of paper discovered by the father on the floor would be introduced with *ko* in A-4 and would be referred to again by *ko* in A-5.[5]

The comic strip story continues in the following manner for Cloze item A-6, shown below as example (6):

(6)
[Cloze item A-6]

(Having been fooled by Beryl once again, the father says to himself:)
"I'LL CATCH HER YET---WHEN SHE'S LEAST EXPECTING 6!"

Here, 100% of the native speakers chose "it," compared to 69% and 28% for the advanced and intermediate non-native speakers, respectively, who selected "it." "It" in A-6 refers to the father's assertion that he will get Beryl back in a similar way (i.e., 'catch her'). The information is not new information and this expression would seem to resist the use of "this" or "that" since any focus here would not be relevant. However, 65% of the intermediate level and 26% of the advanced level speakers chose medium focus "that." This fact seems to indicate that L2 learners encounter difficulty in choosing between medium focus "that" and low focus "it."

Cloze item A-7, reproduced in (7) below is also an instance of anaphoric reference. Having succeeded in catching Beryl (i.e., leapfrogging over her), her father happily shouts:

(7)
[Cloze item A-7]

"YAHOO! I'VE DONE 7 AT LAST!"

Again, 100% of the native speakers chose "it," compared to the 91% and 70% of the advanced and intermediate level non-native speakers, respectively. Twenty-one percent of intermediate level non-native speakers chose "this." It seems probable that this is due to interference from L1 rules, (i.e., priority given to real space (and time)) since her father is in the midst of leapfrogging over Beryl when this utterance is produced.

In Cloze items A-5 to A-7, low focus "it" was overwhelmingly favored by native speakers. However, non-native speakers seem to have difficulty with "it," perhaps because they do not realize that the notion of FOCUS could be a significant determining factor in demonstrative choice in English, and are instead applying other rules, including those governing demonstrative usage in their L1.

Cloze Test B was designed to focus on the distinction between demonstrative use in anaphoric and cataphoric reference in English. This test involves a series of short independent exchanges and one short conversation. Example (8) includes the dialogues from Cloze items B-1, B-4, and B-8:

(8)
[Cloze items B-1, B-4, and B-8]

B-1 Brenda: Tomomi, how old are you?
Tomomi: _1_'s a personal question!

B-4 Tomomi: The newspapers say that the US and Japan will go to war soon.
Brenda: __4__ must be a sick joke.

B-8 Tomomi: I hear that the mayor of Murata is in trouble.
Brenda: __8__ is an understatement!

The native speakers all chose "that" in B-1 and B-8, and 88% chose "that" for B-4, while the non-native speaker choices, especially those made by speakers at the intermediate level, yielded a wide range of responses. In these three cloze items, "that" is used to refer back to the other person's comment or question (i.e., the referent is the entire preceding utterance by the other person) and the speaker's response with "that" sounds less positive with respect to the referent, apparently indicating an annoyed, critical, or accusing tone. The psychological distance seems greater in items B-1 and B-8 where 100% of the native speakers responded with "that." Cloze item B-4 is similar, but not all native speakers responded with "that" (i.e., 88% selected "that," 15% selected "it," and 3% selected "this"). In contrast, as in Example (9) from Cloze item B-3, when the referent is the speaker's own previous statement, native speaker choices varied among "this" (48%), "that" (39%) and "the" (17%).

(9)
[Cloze item B-3]

Tomomi: The minesweepers finally left Japan.
_3_ action worries a lot of people.

Brenda: I know. But I'm glad that the Japanese finally DID something.

The findings in (8) and (9) above match Halliday and Hasan's (1976) basic observation that "in dialogue there is some tendency for the speaker to use *this* to refer to something he himself has said and *that* to refer to something said by his interlocutor" (p. 60). However, a number of questions with respect to the distribution of responses still remain. For example, to support their above claim, Halliday and Hasan argue that this alternation between "this" and "that" occurs because what the speaker has just said is, textually speaking, near the speaker, whereas what the interlocutor has said is not, but this does not account for the variety in the above data, particularly items B-3 and B-4. Further, Strauss' schema of FOCUS may explain the variety of responses in B-3, but does not seem to explain the variations among B-1, B-4, and B-8. This is, therefore, an area which should be further investigated and developed into a new model. There is a definite need for a clearer, more precise framework for L2 learners, especially since the data show that a significant number of non-native speakers chose "it" over "that,"--a choice which stands in sharp contrast with any of the native speaker preferences.

Cloze item B-9, represented below as Example (10), is another good example which yields a wide gap between native and non-native speaker responses:

(10)
[Cloze item B-9]

(Conversation between John and Hiroshi in Tokyo)

John: Where does your family live, Hiroshi?
Hiroshi: In Sendai, in the Tohoku region.
John: Is 9 near Tokyo or far away?

Native speakers overwhelmingly chose medium focus "that" (94%) while the majority of non-native speakers (72% of advanced and 70% of intermediate) chose low focus "it." This difference may be accounted for by Strauss' FOCUS schema, since the referent ('Sendai') would need a higher focus item than low focus "it."

We will now turn to the anaphoric demonstratives in Japanese in Cloze Test C, specifically in Cloze items C-6 through C-8, as shown in (11) and C-9, as shown in (12). These examples indicate the confusion of usage between *so* and *a* among non-native speakers.

(11)
[Cloze C, items 6-8]

田中：　大学院生の木村さんをごぞんじですよね.
Tanaka: You know the graduate student, Mr. Kimura, don't you?
佐藤：　ええ、知っています.　(　6　) の人とは高校時代から友達です.
Sato:　Yes, I do. I've been friends with him since high school.
田中：　じゃあ、婚約なさったこともごぞんじですね.
Tanaka: Well, then, you know that he's engaged.
佐藤：　えっ、(　7　) れは知りませんでした.　どんなかたですか.
(　8　) の婚約者は.
Sato:　Engaged? I didn't know that. Who is his fiancee?

In (11), 100% of the native speakers chose *so* for C-8, in contrast with 81% of the advanced and 42% of the intermediate non-native speakers. Many other non-native speakers (17% of advanced and 40% of intermediate) chose *a* , a clearly ungrammatical choice for this situation. *A* cannot be used for a referent which is introduced into the context by another speaker and about which the speaker has no knowledge. In a case such as C-8, *so* is the only possible choice for a referent which falls out of the domain of the speaker's direct experience. A similar distribution based on different grammatical reasons obtains in (12), from Cloze item 9.

(12)
[Cloze item C-9]

きのう学校から帰る途中、外国人に道を聞かれました.　(　9　) の人は日本は
はじめてなのに日本語がとてもじょうずでした.
A foreigner asked me for some directions on my way home from school
yesterday. He/she was very good at Japanese even though (he/she said)
it was his/her first visit to Japan.

For this item 99% of the native speakers chose *so* whereas the responses among the non-natives varied. Twenty-four percent of the advanced and 37% of the intermediate speakers chose *a*. In this particular case, it is not impossible to use *ko* or *a*. For example, if the speaker wants to highlight the referent (*gaikokujin* 'a foreigner') to continue talking about it, *ko* could be used; moreover, the speaker could use *a* because the referent is in the domain of direct experience, but not in the immediate proximity. However, *so* sounds the most natural for this utterance since it is a simple statement with no particular emphasis or stance implied by the speaker.

Cataphoric reference was tested in Cloze C-10 in Japanese and Cloze B-2 in English. Example (13) below shows Cloze item C-10, and (14), Cloze item B-2.

(13)
[Cloze item C-10]

(　１０　) れは誰にも言わないでほしいのですが、実は私はゴキブリがこわいのです.
cockroach

I want you to keep this secret--I'm afraid of cockroaches!

(14)
[Cloze item B-2]

Tomomi: What do you think of _2_ idea? Let's go to Bali.
Brenda: Great! I'm ready when you are!

While the native speakers of both Japanese and English unanimously chose *ko* and "this" for (13) and (14) respectively, the distribution among the less advanced non-native speakers indicate that the issue is not such a straightforward one to non-native speakers. For example, 37% of the intermediate level L2 speakers of English made an incorrect choice of demonstrative in English as did 30% of the L2 intermediate speakers of Japanese.

To summarize thus far, we have found that neither advanced nor intermediate level L2 learners of English and Japanese have full control of demonstratives for either spatio-temporal deixis or discourse reference. As our data show, non-native usage of demonstratives is far from perfect. While it may be possible to easily learn demonstratives as lexical items, it seems to be extremely challenging to become an L2 speaker with a complete picture of the demonstrative systems for each language and how these systems function pragmatically. We cannot assume that even professionals using a second language daily on a relatively high level are necessarily "advanced," at least not in the area of the manipulation of demonstrative reference. Indeed, interaction in the L2 with others on a frequent basis and in a meaningful context seems to be a necessary condition for the complete acquisition of demonstratives.

CONCLUSION

Our data were analyzed in relation to the models proposed by Strauss (1993a, 1993b) and Kinsui and Takubo (1990, 1992) to examine their pedagogical feasibility. These models provide a vast improvement over the traditional plus/minus proximity models which seem to still be the prevalent models in pedagogical theory. Almost all of the native speaker results in this study could be better accounted for by these two frameworks, and we found that these models would be beneficial for L2 learners as they try to more fully master the demonstrative systems for each language. Our data also reveal, however, that there is still room for improvement.

In terms of pedagogical implications, our study gives us several points to consider. For example, although demonstratives are rather easy to learn lexically, mastering the particular restrictions surrounding their usage in spatio-temporal deixis requires a great deal of well prepared, carefully planned practice (both inside and outside the classroom) in a variety of "real" or "authentic-like" contexts, with background knowledge of Strauss' focus schema and Kinsui and Takubo's framework of domains. Since the speaker's psychological relationship to the referent is an important determining factor for demonstrative choice in both models, it is indispensable to incorporate highly interactive and communicative activities in the classroom to help students master these systems.

Similar recommendations can be made about the use of demonstratives in discourse reference since this does not seem to be treated in much detail in any language course textbook. Anaphora and cataphora need to be taught to L2 learners in richer contexts which reflect actual native speaker usage and with carefully designed exercises and explanations which capture these governing rules.

Since English and Japanese are so vastly different from each other it may be better to teach one system to L2 learners of the other language in a deductive way. That is, both differences and similarities can be explained to students; for example, it would be beneficial for students to learn at an early stage that the priority of factors which determine demonstrative choice is different between English and Japanese, but that there is a similarity in cataphoric usage, that is, plus proximity "this" and *ko* are predominantly used in English and in Japanese, respectively. This fact does not imply, however, that there is a simple match between "this" and *ko*. As is often the case with languages, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the English and Japanese lexicons; "this," "that," and "it" cannot be translated as *ko, a* and *so*. The fact that each of these lexical items has its own concept and function needs to be pointed out when L1 and L2 demonstratives are contrasted.

Another implication of the present study is that L2 learners need to know that the use of demonstratives is highly subjective, both in English and in Japanese. Although the basis for demonstrative use is physical proximity, psychological factors appear to actually be more important. The speaker's point of view, and not mere physical proximity, is a crucial decisive factor in demonstrative choice—a fact that students would most likely never infer from traditional classroom instruction and textbooks based on the traditional literature. While psychological factors (focus) dominate in the choice of English demonstratives, whether the referent belongs in the domain of the speaker's direct experience or not is the basic determinant of Japanese demonstrative choice. There is a "trigger hierarchy" in Japanese; that is, real space (physical proximity) overrules the other factors when there are choices in Japanese demonstrative use. English, however, does not have such a hierarchy.

It has been shown with our data that both Strauss' FOCUS schema for English demonstratives and Kinsui and Takubo's domain theory for Japanese have high potential in pedagogical applications. The two theories, however, need to be tested on more data with more examples from a wider variety of contexts. Although the concept of "high, medium, and low" focus looks easy for learners, this framework should be investigated with an eye toward making it a tool for teaching/learning English demonstratives. The same is true with the framework for Japanese demonstratives. For Kinsui and Takubo's theory to be helpful for teachers/learners, the domain theory and trigger hierarchy need to be developed into a better pedagogical frame.

The study of demonstratives is still a rich area for linguistic investigation from the points of view of a single language as well as from cross-linguistic perspectives.

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NOTES

[1] Reference to these two basic forms (this and that) will also include their corresponding plural forms (these and those).

[2] The total number of subjects for each category and for each cloze task is shown in the Tables which discuss the results of each test.

[3] While it is often said that British English and American English have somewhat different uses of "this" and "that" (e.g."Who is that?" vs. "Who is this?" uttered by someone who has just answered the phone and inquiring about the identity of the caller), there were no significant differences in our data except in Cloze item A-1, where the choice of "this" by American subjects was slightly higher than that by the British.

[4] "Beryl the Peril" © 1994 D.C. Thomson & Co., Ltd. 1994.

[5] This is, if it is even referred to at all. In a natural sounding interaction, there would be no demonstrative used in A-5 at all, since noun phrases once brought into discourse are usually ellipted as long as the ellipsis would cause no ambiguity between other referents in the discourse.

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APPENDIX

CLOZE TEST A

Please fill in (1) - (7) in the comic with a word/phrase listed below:
[this that it this is that's it's]

THE FUNDAY TIMES

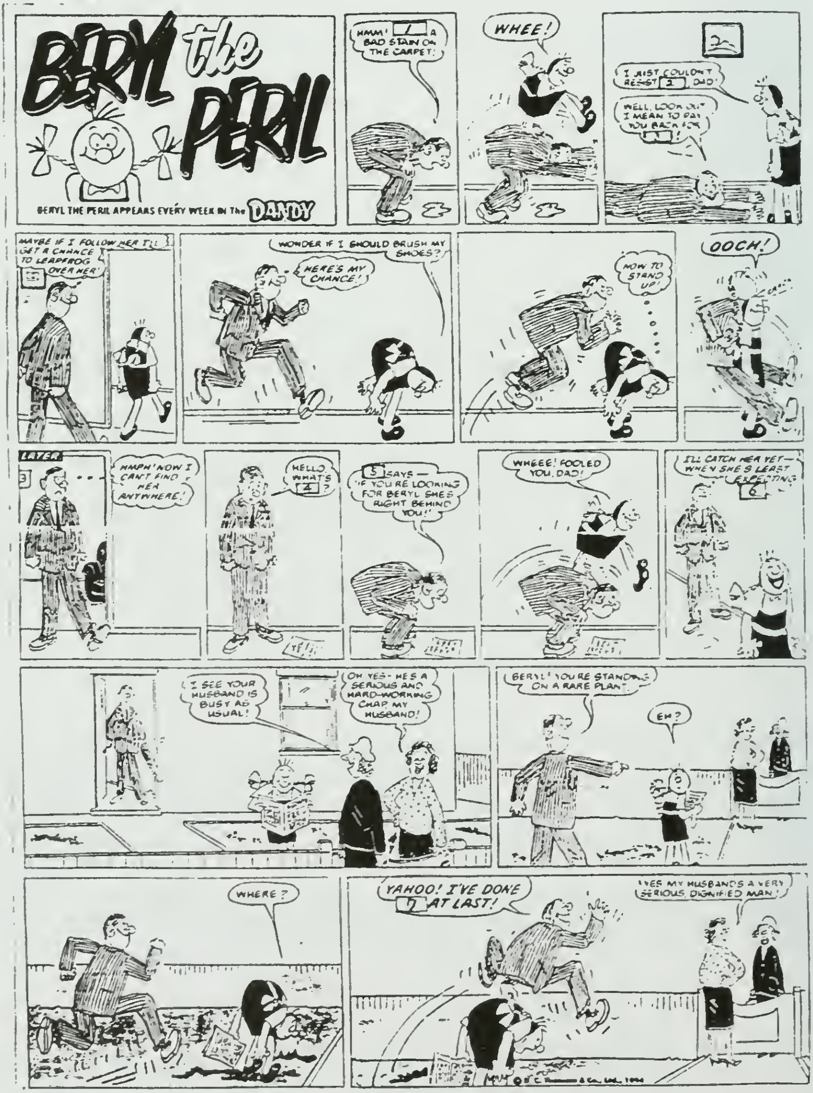
BERYL the PERIL
BERYL THE PERIL APPEARS EVERY WEEK IN THE DANDY
HMM! 1 A BAD STAIN ON THE CARPET!
WHEE!
I JUST COULDN'T RESIST 2 , DAD!
WELL, LOOK OUT! I MEAN TO PAY YOU BACK FOR !
MAYBE IF I FOLLOW HER I'LL GET A CHANCE TO LEAPFROG OVER HER!
WONDER IF I SHOULD BRUSH MY SHOES?
HERE'S MY CHANCE!
HOW TO STAND UP!
OOCH!
LATER
3
HMPH! NOW I CAN'T FIND HER ANYWHERE!
HELLO, WHAT'S 4 ?
5 SAYS — "IF YOU'RE LOOKING FOR BERYL SHE'S RIGHT BEHIND YOU!"
WHEEE! FOOLED YOU, DAD!
I'LL CATCH HER YET— WHEN SHE'S LEAST EXPECTING 6
I SEE YOUR HUSBAND IS BUSY AS USUAL!
OH YES - HE'S A SERIOUS AND HARD-WORKING CHAP, MY HUSBAND!
BERYL! YOU'RE STANDING ON A RARE PLANT.
EH?
WHERE?
YAHOO! I'VE DONE 7 AT LAST!
YES MY HUSBAND'S A VERY SERIOUS, DIGNIFIED MAN!

Table 1: Results of Cloze Test A
(tokens; % of usage)

		Native Speakers of English		Non-native Speakers of E		Non-native Speakers of E	
				Advanced		Intermediate	
		(N = 92)		(N = 129)		(N = 104)	
1	THAT'S	63	68%	23	18%	15	14%
	THIS IS	26	28%	89	69%	74	71%
	IT'S	3	3%	17	13%	15	14%
2	THAT	23	25%	29	22%	27	26%
	IT	69	75%	87	67%	67	64%
	THIS	0	0%	13	10%	10	10%
3	THAT	59	64%	42	33%	56	54%
	IT	8	9%	23	18%	27	26%
	THIS	25	27%	64	50%	21	20%
4	THIS	70	76%	71	55%	87	84%
	THAT	22	24%	57	44%	16	15%
	IT	0	0%	1	1%	1	1%
5	IT	86	93%	119	92%	82	79%
	THIS	6	7%	10	8%	19	18%
	THAT	0	0%	0	0%	3	3%
6	IT	92	100%	89	69%	29	28%
	THIS	0	0%	7	5%	7	7%
	THAT	0	0%	33	26%	68	65%
7	IT	92	100%	117	91%	73	70%
	THAT	0	0%	6	5%	9	9%
	THIS	0	0%	6	5%	22	21%

Notes: A small number of NSs indicated the use of THERE'S/none (0) for 1 . The first phrase was chosen for the data when there were more than one phrase/word answered.

CLOZE TEST B

Please fill in the blank spaces.

1. Brenda: Tomomi, how old are you?
Tomomi: __________'s a personal question!

2. Tomomi: What do you think of _______ idea? Let's go to Bali.
Brenda: Great! I'm ready when you are!

3. Tomomi: The minesweepers finally left Japan. ________ action worries a lot of people.
   Brenda: I know. But I'm glad that the Japanese finally DID something.

4. Tomomi: The newspapers say that the US and Japan will go to war soon.
   Brenda: __________ must be a sick joke.

5. Brenda: Hello, Dr. Shimizu. It's me again.
   Doctor: Well, hi. How's _______ leg of yours? Is it healing well?

6. Brenda: Tomomi says there's _____ man you should meet.
   Michiko: Oh, is she trying to find me another boyfriend?

7. Brenda: There's ________ stupid politician again!
   Tomomi: Now, now, don't get upset.

8. Tomomi: I hear that the mayor of Murata is in trouble.
   Brenda: _________ is an understatement!

9 - 11 (Conversation between John and Hiroshi in Tokyo)

John: Where does your family live, Hiroshi?
Hiroshi: In Sendai, in the Tohoku region.
John: Is ________ near Tokyo or far away?
Hiroshi: Pretty far away. It takes about 2 hours by bullet train. I guess you've never been there.
John: No, I really don't know much about _____ place.
Hiroshi: Well, do you want to come up with me sometime? Like, what about _______ next vacation?

Table 2: Result of Cloze Test B
(tokens; % of usage)

		Native Speakers of English		Non-native Speakers of E Advanced		Non-native Speakers of E Intermediate	
		(N = 66)		(N = 72)		(N = 60)	
1.	THAT	66	100%	52	72%	43	72%
	IT	0	0%	18	25%	14	23%
	THIS	0	0%	2	3%	3	5%
2.	THIS	64	97%	61	85%	38	63%
	THE	1	2%	7	10%	12	20%
	THAT	1	2%	3	5%	3	5%
	A	0		0%0	0%	7	12%
3.	THIS	32	48%	25	35%	23	38%
	THAT	26	39%	18	25%	9	15%
	THE	11	17%	28	39%	25	42%
	ITS	0	0%	3	4%	2	3%

4.	THAT	58	88%	47	65%	15	25%
	IT	10	15%	26	36%	46	77%
	THIS	2	3%	3	4%	1	2%
5.	THAT	66	100%	28	39%	8	13%
	THE	0	0%	28	39%	24	40%
	A	0	0%	8	11%	24	40%
	THIS	0	0%	6	8%	4	7%
6.	A	51	77%	57	79%	48	80%
	THIS	16	24%	3	4%	1	2%
	THE	1	2%	5	7%	10	17%
	THAT	0	0%	6	8%	7	12%
7.	THAT	65	98%	22	31%	10	17%
	THE	1	2%	15	21%	10	17%
	A	0	0%	27	38%	37	62%
	THIS	0	0%	2	3%	0	0%
8.	THAT	66	100%	53	74%	15	25%
	IT	0	0%	19	26%	26	43%
	THIS	0	0%	2	3%	19	32%
9.	THAT	62	94%	14	19%	15	25%
	IT	6	9%	52	72%	42	70%
	THIS	0	0%	1	1%	1	2%
	SENDAI	0	0%	1	1%	2	3%
10.	THAT	38	58%	22	31%	16	27%
	THE	31	47%	44	61%	40	67%
	THIS	1	2%	2	3%	1	2%
	ITS	0	0%	2	3%	2	3%
11.	THE	33	50%	50	69%	36	60%
	THIS	32	48%	15	21%	12	20%
	YOUR/OUR	6	9%	0	0%	0	0%
	A	0	0%	2	3%	7	12%
	0	0	0%	3	4%	3	5%

Note: Multiple answers were given in some cases.

CLOZE TEST C

(insert Cloze Test C here)

Please fill in each (　　) with こ、そ、or あ.

A. Akiko and Hiroshi are sitting close to each other.
Akiko is showing Hiroshi a picture of her family.

あき子：　（　1　）れ、私の家族の写真よ。
ひろし：　どれどれ、よく見せて。
あき子：　（　2　）れが私の父。　（　3　）のとなりにいるのが母。
　　　　　母のうしろは弟。
ひろし：　あ、（　4　）の人はきっと妹さんでしょう？　とてもよく似ている。
あき子：　ええ、そう。
ひろし：　妹さんのうしろの（　5　）の人は？
あき子：　妹のフィアンセよ。　来月結婚することになってるの。

B.

田中：　大学院生の木村さんをごぞんじですよね。
佐藤：　ええ、知っています。　（　6　）の人とは高校時代から友達です。
田中：　じゃあ、婚約なさったこともごぞんじですね。
佐藤：　えっ、（　7　）れは知りませんでした。　どんなかたですか。
　　　　（　8　）の婚約者は。

C.

きのう学校から帰る途中、外国人に道を聞かれました。　（　9　）の人は日本ははじめてなのに日本語がとてもじょうずでした。

D.

（　10　）れは誰にも言わないでほしいのですが、実は私はゴキブリがこわいのです。
cockroach

Table 3: Result of Cloze Test C
(tokens; % of usage)

	Native Speakers of Japanese		Non-native Speakers of J		Non-native Speakers of J	
			Advanced		Intermediate	
	(N = 76)		(N = 59)		(N = 43)	
1. *ko*	76	100%	58	98%	43	100%
so	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
a	0		0%1	2%	0	0%
2. *ko*	76	100%	53	90%	33	77%
so	0	0%	1	2%	7	16%
a	0	0%	5	8%	3	7%
3. *so*	69	91%	49	83%	36	84%
ko	7	9%	9	15%	4	9%
a	0	0%	1	2%	3	7%
4. *ko*	75	99%	41	69%	16	37%
so	1	1%	6	10%	14	33%
a	0	0%	12	20%	13	30%
5. *ko*	75	99%	31	53%	5	12%
so	1	1%	16	27%	20	47%
a	0	0%	11	19%	16	37%
0	0	0%	1	2%	2	5%
6. *a*	56	74%	46	78%	23	53%
so	20	26%	13	22%	15	35%
ko	0	0%	0	0%	5	12%
7. *so*	76	100%	58	98%	35	81%
a	0	0%	0	0%	6	14%
ko	0	0%	1	2%	2	5%
8. *so*	76	100%	48	81%	18	42%
a	0	0%	10	17%	17	40%
ko	0	0%	1	2%	6	14%
0	0		0%0	0%	2	5%
9. *so*	75	99%	43	73%	25	58%
a	0	0%	14	24%	16	37%
ko	1	1%	2	3%	2	5%
10. *ko*	76	100%	55	93%	30	70%
so	0	0%	3	5%	8	19%
a	0	0%	1	2%	4	9%
0	0		0% 0	0%	1	2%

The Role of Questioning in Japanese Political Discourse

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According to Nakajima (1989), Japanese political discussions are characterized by 'question-response' sequences which occupy considerable time, but display no clear resolution nor true dispute. The present study examines 'question-response' sequences in Japanese political discourse. In particular, the study addresses how questions (Qs) are used to control other interlocutors as well as the relationship between questions and conflict in Japanese political discourse. A panel discussion conducted among several panelists of Japanese politicians, economists, and professional moderators, was video-tape recorded from a Japanese television program and transcribed. Questions are identified and classified into several syntactic forms and the distribution of these question forms in the data is examined. The manner in which questions are posed and responded to is qualitatively and quantitatively analyzed in order to determine the degree of control exerted and their role as dispute markers. These analyses reveal that questions that possess greater ambiguity in terms of desired addressees' responses are preferred and strategically utilized along with suprasegmental features and non-linguistic devices in the Japanese political discussion under investigation. The study shows that the general tendency to avoid overt control and overt conflict is reflected in questioning strategies employed in the discourse, which may symbolize a characteristic type of Japanese-like argumentation.

INTRODUCTION

It has often been said that the Japanese tend to avoid argumentative discussion (Kindaichi, 1989a, 1989b; Itasaka, 1988; Sakurai, 1979). According to Nakajima (1989), Japanese political discussions are characterized by question-response sequences which occupy considerable time, but display no clear resolution nor true dispute.

On the other hand, a growing body of research about questioning in English demonstrates its important role in negotiation, especially in the management of verbal conflict (Connor-Linton, 1989). All questions appear to control discourse to some extent, but the degree of control and the role of the question as a dispute marker varies with the types or forms of questions (Harris, 1984; Philips, 1984; Benett, 1976).

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Previous studies document that Yes/No Qs enable the questioner to assert more control over the ensuing discourse than WH-Qs (Harris, 1984; Philips, 1984). According to Connor-Linton (1989), because Yes/No Qs constrain the appropriate next turn to confirmation or denial, they narrowly define the ensuing discourse as either agreement or disagreement. Further, because of the preference for agreement which is strongly indicated by Yes/No Qs, they also heighten the likelihood and salience of dispute (Connor-Linton, 1989). In that sense, a Yes/No Q is claimed to be a good marker of potential and actual dispute (Levinson, 1979). In contrast, WH-Qs are more open-ended, inviting the addressee to participate in the co-construction of a view of the world. WH-Qs usually do not put the addressee into quite as tight a corner as Yes/No Qs do; rather they keep the conversation going (Garner, 1980).

It was thus expected that questions also function in different ways in Japanese political discourse. In examining the question-response sequences in one Japanese political discussion, it was observed that the question-response sequences are discourse locations in which political struggles for control take place.

The present study examines question-response sequences in Japanese political discourse. In particular, the study examines how questions are used to control addressees. The speaker attempts to control the addressee by imposing the topic and the speech act of the following turn. Japanese political experts are often aware of these considerations and may resist being so controlled. This study documents the linguistic strategies that speakers and addressees use in such interactions and describes the various degrees of control and cooperation that particular linguistic structures index.

Accordingly, the research questions are as follows:

1. What linguistic forms of Qs are used in Japanese political discourse?
2. How do participants in Japanese political discussion utilize Qs to exert control over one another?
3. What is the relation of the Q to conflict in Japanese political discourse?

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Data Base and Data Collection

The subjects for this study are two Japanese politicians, three economists (critics), and three professional moderators who are participating in a television panel discussion.[1] One of the politicians is from the Liberal Democratic Party (the ruling party) and the other from the Social Democratic Party (the biggest opposition party). Because of the nature of their professions, the subjects are regarded as belonging to a highly educated Japanese population who are accustomed to speaking in front of large audiences.

A panel discussion was video-tape recorded from a three hour Japanese television program entitled "NHK Special: A Revolution in Land Policy," aired on October 12, 1990. The topic of discussion was the government's land policy, which had been a serious national problem for many years. At the time of the discussion, a new land policy bill was being laid out and discussed in the Diet by several councils. The three economists were expected to speak on behalf of the national public, taking the position of criticizing or accusing the politicians, while the two politicians were expected to protect their own positions. The stance of the three moderators could be seen as closer to that of the economists, since the program appeals to the perspective of its viewers -- the national public.

While the social status of the two politicians and the three economists is not equal, they are all regarded as top leaders in their own fields, and are respectful toward each other. The politicians and the critics, in turn, show respect to the moderators even though their own social status is probably somewhat higher; which may be due to their awareness of being on television and the far-reaching effects of mass-media. Because of the purpose and the setting of the television program, the moderators, despite their lower social status, are more than welcome to challenge the politicians. Finally, the moderators are respectful of the critics and treat them as unbiased authorities who are interested in challenging the politicians.

It is also important to note here that the discourse is somewhat prepared or planned because of the television setting, and is thus not considered to be perfectly natural or spontaneous.

Working Definitions of Question Types

Qs are generally regarded as requests for information or attention, and include requests for confirmation, agreement, clarification, recognition, and acknowledgment. Although all of these social functions of Qs apply to the Qs in the present study, I have chosen to define a Q more broadly as *a request for the addressee's verbal or possibly non-verbal response.* Identifying Qs based on this definition actually involves examining the *degree of control* exerted by the speaker, which becomes the crux of the analysis in the present study.

The above definition, however, does not work as a sufficient framework by which Qs can be identified in the transcript. To determine whether an utterance is pragmatically a Q as defined above, a thorough analysis of the utterance in its context is needed (McHoul, 1987). Generally, in many languages, Qs and their functions are signalled by certain linguistic structures. While it is true that there is no isomorphism between linguistic structure and social function (Harris, 1984), it is nevertheless practical and worthwhile to classify Qs by using such linguistic structures, as they may signal something to the addressee and make an utterance distinctive from one without the structures.

Unfortunately, there is no clear agreement as to what actually constitutes a Q marker in the case of Japanese[2] which does not have as clear a grammatical system of Qs as English, where question forms are explicitly marked by devices such as tags or subject verb inversion.

For the purpose of the present study, the categorization of Qs set forth by Nakada (1980) will be adopted as a basis for analysis. Nakada claims that Qs in Japanese are marked by such formal features as the sentence-final particle *ka* (Yes/No Q), rising intonation (prosodic Q), the use of interrogative words (WH-Q), and what he calls tag-like phenomenon markers *ne* and *deshoo*. Although there is no clear agreement on whether or not these criteria alone are sufficient to characterize a given sentence as a Q, this claim has been generally supported by several other Japanese linguists. Moreover, as Nakada's categorization of Qs bears a resemblance to some of the similar studies done on Qs in English (Harris, 1984; Woodbury, 1984), this categorization system suits the analytical purpose of the present study and even of possible future comparative studies on Qs in American political discourse. Based on Nakada's categorization, which was adjusted here to facilitate the drawing of clear and detailed conclusions, the surface linguistic structures which identify an utterance as a Q in the transcript are listed with examples as follows:

1. **Grammatical Yes/No Q:** a sentence marked by the final particle *ka*.

kare wa seijika desu ***ka?***
he T[3] politician be Q
'Is he a politician?'

2. **Prosodic Q:** a declarative sentence without the use of *ka* or the markers *ne* or *deshoo*, marked only by rising intonation.

kare ga soo iimashita?
he S so say:past
'He said so / that?'

3. **WH Q:** a sentence marked by interrogative words, possibly along with the use of the final particle *ka*[4] and classified into the following two types.

a) Broad WH-Q: a question asking *what, why*, and *how* which does not request specific information.

sore wa dooshite desu ***ka?***
it T why be Q
'Why is that?'

b) Narrow WH-Q: a question asking *who*, *where*, *which*, or *when*, which appears to require answers that are as specific as the addressee is able to make them.

sore o itsu kikimashita ***ka?***
it O when hear:past Q
'When did you hear that?'

4. **Tag-like Phenomena:** a declarative sentence with the particle *ne* or the modal auxiliary *deshoo* at the end of a sentence.[5]

sore wa hontooo desu ***ne?***
it T true be FP
'It is true, isn't it?'

sore wa hontooo ***deshoo?***
it T true auxiliary verb
'It is true, isn't it?'

Based on the first pragmatic definition mentioned earlier, *the request for the addressee's verbal or possibly non-verbal response*, embedded Qs followed by clause markers such as *to*, *toka*, *toiu*, (similar in function to complementizer 'that' in English) are excluded from the present study. Rhetorical Qs which are regarded as those not requiring any response from the addressee have also been excluded, but only in obvious cases in which they contain formulaic expressions, such as *ittai*, or *nante*, (meaning 'what on earth' or an exclamatory form of 'how' in English), or in which they have been clearly analyzed as such from the context, from rhetorical intonation, or from other non-linguistic features. Most cases involving some degree of doubt have been included and are discussed in the analysis.

The categorization of tag-like phenomena is perhaps the most debatable issue when discussing categorizations,[6] since Japanese does not have clear grammatical tag-Q forms as English does. This is why Nakada calls them "tag-like phenomena" instead of "tag questions." Although all linguistic features that index these phenomena have not been agreed upon,[7] the structures *ne* and *deshoo* have been chosen to be considered as tag-like markers in this study because of their general acceptance as such, and their high frequency compared to other candidates (especially in these data).

As in many other languages, the particular surface structures stated above do not always guarantee that an utterance is a Q. In ambiguous cases, however, it is often the intonation that plays a crucial role in identifying questions also in Japanese. That is not only in the case of a prosodic Q, which is defined in the present study as a declarative without *ka*, *ne*, or *deshoo*, but also in the cases of Yes/No Qs, WH-Qs, and even more crucially, the tag-like phenomena.

It might be expected that, regardless of whether *ka*, WH-words, or tag-like markers appear, a sentence sounds like a Q when it ends with rising intonation, and a sentence does not sound like a Q when it ends with falling intonation. The analysis of each utterance in the transcript, however, indicates that it would be of no use to classify the variation in intonation, including whether a rising intonation is followed by a falling intonation, or whether there is stress on a falling intonation, into only two discrete patterns of rising and falling intonations. It is also better to take into consideration the intonation of a whole sentence rather than only that of its ending. Furthermore, as will be illustrated in the analysis, *ne* uttered without a clearly rising intonation sometimes gets a response, whereas *ne* uttered with a continuing rising intonation sometimes does not seem to require a response.[8] Intonation is, of course, essential in deciding the function of an utterance. However, other suprasegmental features like stress and pitch, or even non-linguistic devices such as eye-gaze and gesture, are factors which must be considered in the above cases. It is for these reasons that no classification for Yes/No Qs, WH-Qs, and tag-like phenomena by intonation has been made in this study. Instead, intonation will be discussed, along with other suprasegmental features and non-linguistic devices in examining the *degree of control* exerted by the speaker in the analysis of the present study.

Data Analysis

The data were transcribed in Japanese, using romanization, followed by an English-Japanese word-by-word gloss and an equivalent English sentence. Transcription included both verbal and non-verbal communication (including eye-gaze and gesture) and followed the conventions of conversation analysis (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984).

Qs were first identified in the transcript according to the above working definition (*the request for the addressee's verbal or possibly non-verbal response*). In order to examine the differences across forms of Qs in Japanese, Qs in the data were then classified into the four syntactic forms (i.e., WH-Qs, Yes/No Qs, prosodic Qs, or tag Qs) and the distribution of those forms in the data was examined.

In order to analyze question-response sequences in terms of the degree of control exerted by the speaker and the role of the Q as a dispute marker, this study documented the distribution of Q types, the percentage of Qs actually followed by a speaker change, and the percentage of Qs followed by verbal and non-verbal responses (see Tables 1-3). The manner in which each type of Q was posed and responded to was qualitatively examined as well.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Distribution of Q Types

Table 1 displays the distribution of Q types which occur in these data.

Table 1: Distribution of Q types

WH-broad Q	14	(15%)	
WH-narrow Q	0	(0%)	
Yes/No Q	6*	(7%)	
Prosodic Q	0	(0%)	
Tag-like markers			
** *ne*	68	(75%)	} (78%)
deshoo	3	(3%)	
Total	91	(100%)	

* 3 out of 6 Qs are asking for permission to ask Qs
** excluding phrase final tokens of *ne* and *deshoo*
*** Obvious rhetorical Qs are excluded

The first general findings to note are that WH-Qs are moderately used and Yes/No Qs are very rare, while tag-like phenomena are the most frequent Q type in these data. The WH-Qs in these data are all broad WH-Qs, and not narrow WH-Qs which seek to elicit specific information. If the three Yes/No Qs uttered by one of the critics, which were actually all requests to the moderators for permission to ask a Q, are excluded, there are only three Grammatical Yes/No Qs—less than one fifth of the number of WH-Qs. No Prosodic Qs were identified in these data. This might seem surprising, however, as noted by Mikami (1976), the Prosodic Q is inappropriate in polite contexts. More than 95% of the tag-like markers include the final particle *ne*, and these account for 75% of all the Q types in the data.

The Degree of Control Exerted by Qs

According to Schegloff (1972), Qs control the ensuing discourse because they are a first pair part of an adjacency pair. It is further claimed that Qs involve an initiating act (Harris, 1984), which is accomplished through turning the floor over to someone else (*turn control*), and initiating a topic (*topical control*).

Turn control

Turn control is defined here as putting the addressee in a position where s/he has to say something. That is, speakers control a turn when they elicit the addressee's verbal or non-verbal response. Not all Qs in English turn the floor over to the addressee, and the degree of turn control varies according to different types of Qs (i.e., WH-Qs, Yes/No Qs, Prosodic Qs, or Tag-Qs). Table 2 displays the extent to which each Q type in this corpus gets a verbal response from the addressee.

Table 2: Percentage of Each Q type followed by Speaker Change

WH-broad Qs	100%	
WH-narrow Qs	-	
Yes/No Qs	100%	
Prosodic Qs	-	
Tag-like markers		
ne	17%	}41%
deshoo	66%	

According to Table 2, WH-Qs and Yes/No Qs are always verbally responded to by their addressees, while tag-like phenomena elicit the addressees' verbal responses only 41% of the time.

These figures suggest that the probability of eliciting an addressee's verbal response to broad WH-Qs or Yes/No Qs is very high, while that by tag-like phenomena is lower.[9] Table 2 shows a very low figure of 17% for *ne*, and a much higher figure of 66% for *deshoo*. Table 2, however, shows only verbal responses by the addressee. In Table 3, which includes non-verbal responses like nodding, the frequency of response increases to 21% for *ne*, and 100% for *deshoo*.

Table 3: Percentage of Each Q type followed by Verbal and Non-Verbal (Nodding) Response

WH-broad Qs	100%	
WH-narrow Qs	-	
Yes/No Qs	100%	
Prosodic Qs	-	
Tag-like markers		
ne	21%	}60%
deshoo	100%	

Taking nodding into account, *deshoo* appears stronger in exerting turn control (eliciting verbal and non-verbal response),[10] while *ne* still remains weak.

It is worth noting, however, that *ne* itself may exert different degrees of turn control in different contexts. In other words, the low figure of 21% for *ne* does not mean that the potential of *ne* to elicit the addressee's response is consistently very low. Examining *ne* qualitatively in the discourse reveals that *ne* sometimes requires the addressee's verbal response to a great extent, in which case a pause (non-response) followed by *ne* seems very conspicuous, but in other discourse contexts, a response or non-response from the addressee is not so noticeable. In other words, the implication of the figure 21% is better taken as 'uncertainty' or 'ambiguity' of its function, rather than as a weaker degree of turn control. To achieve a response, suprasegmental features such as intonation, stress, pitch and so forth, as well as non-linguistic devices, such as eye gaze, or gestures, are often employed along with *ne* as exemplified in example 1, below:

(1)
P1:*SOre ike: toiundewa () ikenai!*
well go like modal:neg
'"well then let's go" is no good.'
[
C1: *Katoo-san sore wa ((laugh))*
Mr. Kato that T
'Mr. Kato, that is,'

M3:*SOre katoo-san ne: tochi mondai wa ne:*
that Mr. Kato P land problem T P
'That is, Mr. Kato, the land problem is, '
[
P1: *(un)*
'yeah'

M3:*yappari !SEIkatsu! no mondai da to omoundesu !ne!*
after all living LK problem be QT think FP
'after all, a problem of "(every day) life," I think,'

((Short pause))

P1:*un.*
'yeah.'

M3:*dakara SEIkatsu! no mondai o*
therefore life LK problem O
'So, the problem of "'life"...' ---

In example (1), *ne* succeeds in achieving a verbal response[11] after a short pause. Politician 1 (P1) purposely ignores the critic's points in the previous questions in his long talk, so critic 1 (C1) and moderator 3 (M3) try to cut his turn short and point out the matter ignored by P1. This *ne* does not have a clear rising intonation, but as the transcript shows, there is some type of emphasis on this token of *ne*. Furthermore, M3's tone of voice, eye gaze, short pause after *ne*, and M3's next utterance beginning with *dakara* 'OK, so,' followed by P1's response, all seem to indicate that this token of *ne* requires a verbal response to a great extent. However, *ne* does not always necessitate such a response, as shown in example (2) below:

(2)
C3: *( ) SHIKASHI desu ne:, MOO koremade ano: nikai sankai*
but be P already so far well 2- 3- times
'But, we have already experienced hikes in land prices two or three

tochi kootoo wa attandesu ne:,
land rise T occur:past FP
times, (right?),

DE: sono: keii o mitemasu to,
and its process O looking as
and as I examine the process,'

Here, *ne* does not receive any response, but this lack of response is not conspicuous. This *ne* has a slightly rising continuing intonation, yet no pause follows *ne*, and the speaker simply goes speaking. In this example, *ne* does not seem to require a response as strongly as the token of *ne* in example (1). In contrast, when *ne* is used in a way which suggests that a response is necessary, the absence of such an expected response becomes obvious, as shown in example (3):

(3)
P1: *TOkoroga, tochi no baai wa !tochi! o mottoru hito de jakusha*
But land LK case T land O own people LC the weak

to *kyoosha ga aru wake desu ne.*
and the strong S exist be FP

'But, in the case of land, people who own land are grouped into the weak and the strong, (right?),'

((long pause))

mottoru hito de desu yo, !jakusha! to !kyoosha! ga aru.
own people LC be FP the weak and the strong S exist
'people who own land are classified into the weak and the strong.'

M1:*(un un)*
yeah yeah

P1:*sorekara:*
and,

Ne, as used in example (3), is spoken with stress and a slightly rising intonation. This token of *ne* does not get a response, but unlike the *ne* in example (2), it is followed by a conspicuously long pause. Furthermore, the speaker, failing to get a response, tries to repeat his previous statement with more stress on some words, working harder to get a response this time.

As examples (1) - (3) illustrate, the linguistic structure *ne* itself is very ambiguous. By using *ne*, the speaker may be asking for agreement or confirmation as in examples (1) and (3), or simply looking for attention as in example (2). It is very difficult to distinguish *ne* requiring the addressee to take a next turn from *ne* simply asking for attention while still wanting to keep the turn. As shown in the previous examples, suprasegmental features like intonation, stress, and tone of voice, plus non-linguistic devices such as eye gaze, are often playing a role in signalling the degree of turn control and these cues compensate for the ambiguity of this interactive particle *ne*. Examples (4) and (5) below display further functional subtleties of *ne* :

(4)
M1:*maa sono: shingikai no koto o ima: chuushinni hanashiteru*
well that council LK about O now mainly talking

to omoundesu kedo ***ne***
QT think SF FP
'Well, I guess we are mainly talking about that council,'

MA: are wa tashikani:
well that T certainly
'well, that is certainly,'

[

P1: *Iya! () sono baai nara*
NO that case if
'No. If that's the case,'

In example (4), the particle *ne*, which is accompanied by neither rising intonation nor stress, but which involves eye gaze, prompts the addressee P1 to respond in a manner unexpected by the speaker, as evidenced by the fact that M1 goes on to the next sentence without waiting for any response. P1 ignores the speaker's utterance followed by *ne*, and jumps into the middle of the speaker's turn, responding immediately to *ne* and displaying his disagreement. Example (4) thus implies that *ne* sometimes elicits a change in turn even when the speaker does not expect it to.

However, as shown in example (5), an addressee may also take advantage of the possibility that *ne* does not require a response:

(5)
M1:*sorekara::: MAA zaikai OB ga takusan iru membaa*
and still well business world OB S many exist member
'There is a criticism that there are too many former executives

toshite oosugiru n dewanai ka toiu hihan ga aru ndesu ne:::,
as too many be:neg Q QT criticism S exist FP
from the business world as members (of the council), (isn't there?)'

P1: *((not looking at the speaker M1, seems to be thinking or*
searching for words, not trying to respond as before))

In example (5), *ne* which is uttered with continuing intonation, elicits no response, either verbal or non-verbal. Even though the camera is on M1 and P1, implying that P1 is to be the next speaker, he does not look at the current speaker, possibly in order to avoid taking up the question. Thus, in contrast with the grammatical Yes/No Qs or WH-Qs, *ne* is not a guaranteed Q-marker in the grammatical sense, as it does not always require a response. The addressee is making the most of this feature in this case.

As illustrated, *ne* possesses ambiguity regarding the degree of turn control. According to Table 1, the ambiguous tag-like markers (especially *ne*) are the most frequently used Q-type in this discourse. It is possible to infer that depending on the context, speakers strategically use the ambiguous tag-like markers, adjusting the degree of turn control in each case by using suprasegmental features and non-linguistic devices, and that the addressees are taking advantage of the ambiguity of *ne* as well.

Topical control

It has been noted that the asking of a Q fairly strictly constrains what can be said in the next turn (Connor-Linton, 1988), however, several studies also argue that all Qs do not constrain the next utterance in a similar way (Philips, 1984; Woodbury, 1982; Harris, 1984). Some types of Qs constrain the next turn either as confirmation or denial, while others are more open-ended, allowing many options for the appropriate responses. To examine topical control (i.e., the control of what can be said in the next utterance) Qs in the discourse were qualitatively analyzed according to the question types isolated in Table 1.

Broad WH-questions. As Table 1 shows, WH-Qs used in these data are all broad WH-Qs. The broad WH-Qs in these data are always followed by extremely lengthy turns, in which the topic of the Q is expanded or developed according to the addressee's will, as in example (6):

(6)
M1:*KAtoo-san wa sonohen wa ( ) shingikai no arikata wa*
Mr. Kato T about it T council LK supposed way T

doo :omowaremasu ka?
how think FP

'Mr. Kato, what do you think about it, - about how a council is supposed to be?'

P1:*(hh) ano:: shingikai toiu ippanron to desu ne:,*
well council general discussion and be P
'Well, we are having a general discussion about 'a council' and,'

M1:*(e:)*
yeah,

P1:*ano::: rinchoo de mooketa tochi taisaku kentoo iinkai*
well ad hoc committee LC made land- countermeasure council
'Well the land countermeasure council set within the ad hoc committee, and/or,'

to, aruiwa ,
'and, or'

soreto: iroiro iinkai ga ippai arimasu ne.
and various council S many exist FP
'and we have various kinds of councils, (don't we?)'

M1:*hai.*
yes.

P1: *( ) !HOORITSU! ni motozui !te! ( ) kokkai de shooninsuru hito*
law according to Diet LC elect people
'The member we select in the Diet according to the law, '

watakushi wa shingikai ni wa josei o takusan irero to toiukoto o
I T council LC T females O many put QT such idea O

ITSUMO oh: mooshiage shuchooshiteoru ichiin nandesu ga,
always uh saying claiming one but

'I am one of the members who always claims that we should have
more female members in our council,
((grins))

M1: [
Ano:
Well,

gyoosei soshikihoo no desu ne, DAI HACHIjoo ni
administrative orgz'l law LK be P the eighth LC

arimasu ne: shingikai
exist FP council

'We have a reference to article 8 in the administrative
organizational law

P1: [
HACHIJOO iinkai!
the eighth council

M1: *E: hachijoo* ----
yeah, the eighth ---

Example (6) demonstrates how the broad WH-Q controls the topic of the next turn. In his first turn, M1 self-repairs his broad WH-Q, by rephrasing *sonohenwa* 'regarding that' with *shingikai no arikatawa* 'about how a council is supposed to be,' aiming at heightening the degree of topical control. The subsequent response by P1, however, indicates that the WH-Q fails to tightly control the topic of the response, and only succeeds in maintaining the global topic of something about the "council." P1's response illustrates that, as the addressee, he feels free to expand his opinion without being tightly controlled by the broad WH-Q. In his talk, P1 frequently uses *ne* to elicit agreements to his developing opinion. When M1 finds that P1's long response is drifting away from M1's original intention, M1 interrupts P1 in order to topically control the response again; he succeeds this time by using *ne* instead of a WH-Q. Furthermore, as the transcript indicates, M1 finally gained control of the floor by jumping into the middle of P1's talk. The weakness in topical control of the WH-Q as displayed in example (6) is evident in many other places in these data.

Yes/No questions. In contrast to WH-Qs, Yes/No Qs do not allow an addressee to have as many options. Since a Yes/No Q is itself a complete, ready-made statement, it constrains the appropriate response to either agreement or denial. The absence of an explicit response is often taken as an indirect denial.

(7)
M3:*sono baai wa ano: !DAIzentei! wa desu ne:,*
that case T well major premise T be P
'In that case, well is the major premise that,

P1:*(un)*
'yeah'

M3:*tochi o !SAgeru! to ima no kakaku o sageru toiu koto*
land O lower QT present LK price O lower QT

de wa iindesu ka?
T OK FP

'land, the price of the land should be lowered:?'

P1:*!ii! desu.*
OK be
'Yes, it is.'

( ) ano:: iroirona dantai ga iutekuru baai ni i: !honne! to tatemae,
well various parties S claim case in uh 'honne' and 'tatemae'

ga arimasu yo ne, watakushitachi wa korekara: moo
S exist FP FP we T from now on EMPH

!HONNE de! subete yatteiki tai.
'honne' INST all do want

'Well, when various parties claim (to us), there are 'honne' (real intention) and 'tatemae' (superficial meaning), we, from now on, we would like to do everything based on 'honne'.'

sonotameniwa takane antei dewa !ikenai! to.
for that high-price stability modal:neg QT
'In order to do that, the stabilized high price is no good,

( ) sageru tameni dooiu hoohoo o koozuru ka to.
lower for what way O think QU QT
'To lower (the price),what we do is,...'

In example (7), the Yes/No Q elicits the clear answer of *!ii! desu* (yes, it is), and the strong degree of topical control is substantiated in P1's response. P1 first exhibits his clear agreement and after explaining the reason, he again comes back to the point raised by the questioner, confirming his agreement. As Table 1 shows, however, excluding the three cases of Yes/No Qs asking permission to ask Qs, only three cases of Yes/No Qs exert a strong degree of topical control in this discourse.

Tag-like phenomena. Tag-like phenomena also seem to constrain the content of the next turn, since they state a proposition and ask the addressee to agree with it. In example (1), the Tag-like marker *ne* elicits the addressee's agreement with the speaker's statement although the addressee's turn is not long enough to develop his own opinion, which is not expected by the speaker. In example (4), *ne* is responded to by *'Iya!* 'No!' followed by the explanation of why the addressee does not agree with the speaker's statement. In the two cases *ne* sets up the next turn as being either an agreement or a denial, obviously preferring agreement or confirmation of the speaker's opinion.

In example (3), *ne* is followed by a pause. As noted in the previous section, this pause sounds conspicuous because it signals a clear absence of a response. Failing to get the desired response, that is, an agreement to his statement, the speaker tries to self-repair his Q to achieve the expected response.

These examples suggest that the tag-like markers control the topic of the next turn as a Yes/No Q does, in the sense of favoring an agreement. A careful examination of tag-like markers, however, indicates that the degree of topical control of tag-like markers may not be that obvious. Cook (1990) claims that *ne* appeals to the general feelings or attitude of the addressee, and the analysis of the following extracts supports this claim.

(8)
P1:*HOrekara, sorede: e: e: tochi rinchoo o yatteitadaite*
and then uh uh land ad hoc-committee O serving

tooshin o itadaku iin no senseigata wa
report O submit members LK politicians T

kokkai shoonin jinji dewa NAkatta wake desu ne.
Diet elected member be:neg:past be FP

'And then uh the members who serve on the land ad hoc-committees and submit reports are not the ones (officially) elected by the Diet, (right?)'

M1:*DEmo maa: sono rigai kankeisha ga desu ne: Takusan ( )*
but uh its interest party S be P many

tokuni kanchoo OB toka desu ne: --
especially public office OB etc. be P

'But, well (there is a claim that there are) too many parties involved, especially people who originally were serving in government offices.'

In example (8), although P1 presents a complete statement with *ne*, the addressee, M1, initiates a new subtopic, without explicitly showing his agreement with or denial of P1's statement, as in the case of responding to a Yes/No Q. Instead, M1 answers, "*DEmo ma::*", which sounds like "I understand what you want to say although I don't know/care if it's right or wrong, but what I believe is..." The addressee M1 is not tightly controlled to show agreement with or denial of the speaker's statement, while he is responding to P1's intention or feelings by saying, "*DEmo ma::.*" Cook (1988) claims that *ne* controls the addressee's feelings instead of the specific propositional content of the response, by appealing to the emotions of the addressee. The interactions of P1 and M1 in example (8) are explained by this perspective, which possibly better elucidates the use of *ne* in examples (1) and (6). In all cases, the speaker tries to control the addressee by employing *ne*, through appealing to the addressee's feelings, rather than by using a Yes/No Q, which asks the addressee to show his agreement with or denial of the speaker's statement.

Summary and discussion of this section

Examining turn and topical control exerted by different types of Qs displayed the following results:

Yes/No Qs which have a strong degree of both turn and topical control are rarely used in this discourse. WH-Qs which have a strong degree of turn control, but a weaker degree of topical control are moderately used. On the other hand, tag-like markers, which are ambiguous in terms of exerting turn and topical control, are the most frequently displayed in the discourse.

These findings lead me to propose that the way Qs exert control towards the addressees in the discourse is indirect. It is not done by employing Qs with overt control; rather, Qs which possess greater ambiguity in terms of desired addressee response are strategically utilized, the degree of control being adjusted in each case, depending on the context, by suprasegmental features and non-linguistic devices. Even when a questioner tries to exert control over the addressee, the device used in the discourse is *ne*, instead of the more guaranteed form of Yes/No Qs. Through the use of *ne*, the questioner tries to control the addressee by appealing to feelings, rather than by specifically asking for agreement on the propositional content of the Q.

This use of tag-like phenomena is subtle, but nonetheless can be strongly appealing on an emotional level. At the same time, the pragmatic ambiguity of such Qs allows the addressee to interpret and respond to his own advantage, rather than to the speaker's advantage. Here, the pragmatic status of the Q is actually much more in the hands of the addressee (McHoul, 1987). This elusive way of controlling leaves a certain grey area of negotiation between questioner and respondent, where they both struggle to control each other strategically.

This general tendency toward a lack of overt control exerted through questioning in this discourse is, in fact, one of the significant characteristics of the discourse as an argument. Without being overtly controlled by the previous utterances, participants are relatively free to claim their own opinions as illustrated in example (6). As a result, their opinions do not necessarily relate to the previous turn topic, as long as they are appealing and responding to each other's feelings, which is also demonstrated in example (8). One opinion is not necessarily built on the previous one. Consequently, the discussion takes time, but does not become an argument logically built upon explicitly stated opposing opinions.

Questions as Dispute Markers

As explained in the methods section, a strong potential for conflict exists in this discussion because of its political nature. The different types of questions used, however, may act to mediate this conflict, as discussed below.

Broad WH-questions

As previously noted, WH-Qs are weak in topically controlling the next turn. Since the addressee has many options for responses and does not have to refer to the specific claim made by the questioner, the potential for conflict is relatively small as shown in example (9):

(9)
C2: *KORE wa ne !HONtooNI! (hh) E::() SUkyandalikkuna*
this T FP really uh scandalous
koto desu ne::,
matter be FP

"This is really a scandalous matter (that ---), (isn't it)'

Sore o mata: yurushiteiru desu ne: YATOO
that O EMPH allowing be P the Opposition Party]
( ) KORE wa ittai NAN nanda toiu fuuni omou ndesu ga
this T on earth what QT in such way wonder SF

'but I wonder what on earth the Opposition Party which allows the government to do so is (doing)!

((laughter))

ikaga deshoo ka. ((laughter))
how be FP
'So, what do you say (think)?'

P2:*watakushi mo hontooni saikin soo omotteorimasu.*
I too really recently so thinking
'I really think so, recently.'

(hh) Ano juurai yayamo shimasuto ne, hooritsu ga tooru.
uh well so far a tendency that P law S pass
'Well, so far, we have a tendency that a new law passes,

shingikai ga dekiru. SOOshimasuto desu ne: YATOO no
council S made then be P Opposition Party LK
'(And) then a council is established, then (it was often requested)

In example (9), C2 places a broad WH-Q at the end of a lengthy turn. Within his turn, C2 projects his opinion, trying to get a confirmation to his claim and leading up to a strong accusation towards the end of his turn. But it is immediately followed by the broad WH-Q, *ikaga deshoo ka?* 'What do you say/think?,' and accompanied by laughter. This broad WH-Q, which is often used in Japanese discourse, is in fact very ambiguous. Depending on the context, it means "What do you say/think (about this)?," "Do you agree with this/me?," or something similar. The ambiguity of this type of broad WH-Q allows the addressee to have many options for response and does not put the addressee into a tight corner. Thus, in example 9, the WH-Q functions in mitigating the potential conflict, which might have been provoked by the previous strong accusation made by the speaker. P2, recognizing C2's intention to mitigate the potential conflict, responds with *watakushimo honto:ni -- soo omotte orimasu* 'Me too, I really think so.' This utterance maintains the ambiguity as to what P2 really thinks is "*soo*." By using this vague expression, P2 is allowed to avoid clarifying the accusation, aggressively alleged by C2 immediately before the broad WH-Q, and freely goes on to initiate his new topic.

Yes/No questions

In contrast to the conflict mediating nature of WH-Qs, a Yes/No Q heightens the likelihood and salience of dispute (Connor-Linton, 1989). It constrains the response to either agreement or denial. Benett (1982) argues that the use of a Yes/No Q has certain advantages in creating dispute.

Example (7) is a good illustration of this claim. The Yes/No Q in this example sounds aggressive in the discourse. Irritated by the obscurity of the argument so far, speaker M3 gets into the conversation and attempts to clarify an uncertain point by using the Yes/No Q. This particular Yes/No Q fortunately gains agreement. However, if the response in this kind of situation is denial, the Yes/No Q could provoke conflict and would be very useful in making clear the opposing positions of the speakers. As already displayed in Table 1, however, such Yes/No Qs are rarely used in this discourse.

Tag-like phenomena

The tag-like phenomena function more frequently as potential dispute markers in this discourse than the Yes/No Qs . Nevertheless, as documented in the previous sections, they also exert varying degrees of turn and topical control when used in different contexts and in conjunction with different suprasegmental strategies. Example 10, below, further displays one of the various functions of *ne*:

(10)
M3:*SOre katoo-san ne: tochi mondai wa ne:*
that Mr.Kato FP land problem T P
=That is, Mr. Kato, the land problem is,
[
P1: *(un)*

M3:*yappari !SEIkatsu! no mondai da to omou ndesu !ne!.*
after all life LK problem be QT think FP
=after all, a problem of (every day) 'life', I think, (right?)

((short pause))

P1:*UN*
=Yeah.

M3:*dakara ! SEIkatsu! no mondai o desu ne, yappari !sakiokurisuru!*
therefore life LK problem O be P after all postpone

teiu no wa mondai da to omoundesu yo ne,
QT NM T problem be QT think FP FP

'So, to put off dealing with the problem of 'life' is a problem,
after all, I think (right?)'

((pause))

P1:*(hh) ano:: !saki! okuri wa::::: maa::::*
uh well postpone T uh
'Well, putting it off is -----

In example (10) (part of which is introduced in example (1)), the emphasis on *ne*, the following pause, as well as M3's tone of voice and eye gaze, all indicate that M3 is trying to exert strong control. This impression, however, is achieved not by explicit appeal to the addressee through a Yes/No Q, but by using suprasegmental cues to appeal to the addressee's feelings or general attitude. Two tokens of *ne* in M3's turn are used with *omoundesu* 'I think,' as in "*omoundesu(yo)ne,*" which sounds like 'I think that ..., do you agree?' but which is never overtly verbalized as in the case of Yes/No Qs. This tag-like question is more elusive in that *ne* encourages the addressee's involvement or cooperation with the questioner by pulling the addressee's feelings closer towards the questioner's.

Cook (1990) argues that *ne* indexes affective common ground. With this observation in mind, it is intriguing to find *ne* being used by these speakers to exert some control towards addressees in arenas of potential conflict. It is possible that because *ne* implicitly exerts control while simultaneously indexing common ground, speakers use this marker more frequently than Yes/No Qs or prosodic Qs, which exert overt control and may lead to overt conflict. In the discourse examined here, speakers try to execute control in subtle ways by appealing to the affective common ground with the help of *ne*.

However, since tag-like phenomena appeal to feelings and work on an emotional level rather than on a straightforward propositional level, once such tag-like markers are rejected by the addressee, the conflict may become intense and has the possibility of ending up in an emotional rather than a logical argument. Example (11) clearly illustrates this claim:

(11)
M3:*Konsensasu ni jikan ga kakatteiru aidani dondon chika*
consensus for time S taking while more and more land price
'While it is taking (a lot of) time to reach a consensus, the price of
land is rising further, (right?)

ga agacchau wake desu __*ne.*__
S rise be FP

((pause))

P1:*!iya! DAKARA::: iroiro utsute ga arimashite*
No therefore many plans S have
'No, therefore, we have many plans,

In example (11), in responding to M3's remark which ends with *ne*, P1 puts more stress on *!iya!* 'no!,' and raises his tone of voice for *DAKARA:::*, 'therefore,' which illustrates his strong disagreement.

Example (12), illustrates another situation in which a tag-like phenomena marker nearly provokes explicit conflict:

(12)
M1:*sorekara:: MAA zaikai OB ga takusan iru*
and still well business world OB S many exist

menbaa toshite oosugiru n dewanai ka toiu hihan ga
member as too many be:neg QU QT criticism S

aru ndesu ne::.
exist FP

'There is a criticism that there are too many former executives
from the business world as members (of the council),
(isn't there?)'

P1:*((not looking at the speaker M1, seems to be thinking or searching for words, not trying to respond as before))*

M2:*DE sonoatari desu ne:, ano: nakatani-san - osoreirimasu,*
well about that be P well Mr. Nakatani excuse me
'Well, regarding that point, Mr. Nakatani, oh excuse me,

ima: ano: katoo-san utsurimashita keredomo:
now well Mr. Kato taken (by camera) SF
just now the camera was on Mr. Kato.

C3:*E:,*
Yeah,

M2:*SAkki ne:, rigai choosei MOO taihenna rigai choosei o*
before P interest adjustment EMPH intensive interest adjustment

'You were saying before that (they) are doing an intensive
adjustment of interests (there), (weren't you?)'

yatteru n janai ka to osshatemashita yo ne,
doing be:neg QU QT saying:past FP FP
[
C3: *Un:: ano:*
=yeah, well,

M2:*Ikaga desu ka,*
how be FP
'What do you say/think?'

C3: *sakihodo ano seichookaichoo ga desu ne:*
earlier well Chairperson S be P
'Well, earlier, the Chairperson (Mr.Kato) said that ---

In example (12) (part of which is discussed in example (5)), the conspicuous absence of P1's response to M1's utterance of the tag-like marker *ne* foreshadows potential conflict. This potential conflict is, however, suddenly diffused by another moderator's (M2's) interruption, which ends with a broad WH-Q. M2 admits that the supposed next speaker is P1, referring to the camera work, but she takes the turn from P1 and allocates a different speaker, C3, to take the next turn. The flow of possible argumentation is cut off in the middle of its highlight and digresses to a more open-ended discussion initiated by the WH-Q (cf. example 9). These examples show that conflict, especially that involving intense emotions, is not preferred by participants. The important implication of this analysis is that a tendency to avoid overt verbal conflict because of the participants' awareness of the possibility of an ensuing emotional argument is reflected in the choice and use of Q types in the discourse. Qs are generally used to exert control up to a certain limit, and when that limit is approached, speakers try to adjust their control by using particular linguistic structures such as WH-Qs.

Discussion of Some Cultural Aspects

Both linguists and anthropologists have argued that the structure of language both reflects and reinforces fundamental cultural beliefs about the way people are and the nature of interpersonal communication (Hymes, 1972; Gumperz, 1982; Sapir, 1921). In the course of the present study, several unique features of the use of Japanese language, which have not been discussed in the previous sections, seemed to suggest that indeed, the Japanese language fosters certain cultural values or concepts. This section presents some of those findings, and is followed by a short discussion of cultural concepts underlying the discourse argument.

As many Japanese linguists have pointed out, the way of saying "yes" or "no" in answering Yes/No Qs in Japanese is different from the way this is done in English. Japanese learners of English often experience difficulty with this difference, and frequently make mistakes in answering Yes/No Qs in English. In answering a Yes/No Q asking,"Aren't you going?", English speaking people who are not going, answer, "*No*, I'm not." In Japanese, however, the response is the opposite as in "*Yes*, I am," which sounds contradictory in English, but is expected in Japanese. In the Japanese language, 'yes' means "what you've just said is correct," and 'no' means, "what you've just said is not correct". Japanese has to show agreement with or denial of what the speaker said, rather than agreement with the propositional content of the Q. In other words, saying 'no' to a Yes/No Q in Japanese is almost the same as denying the person as a whole, which is regarded as impolite in Japanese society, where people tend to put importance on the harmony of an interaction. It would be considered running the risk of being 'impolite' to ask a Yes/No Q, which might end up threatening the face of an addressee by forcing him to show his agreement or disagreement with the questioner. In such a case, the addressee is afraid of threatening the face of the questioner. Because of this reluctance to threaten the face of others, Japanese speakers tend to avoid asking Yes/No Qs directly. The findings reported in this study, which show that Yes/No Qs are rarely identified and that more 'ambiguous' tag-like phenomena are preferred in this discourse, are properly explained by this feature of the Japanese language along with this Japanese cultural value. The assertion that in Japanese, responding to Qs may signify a personal response to the questioner him- or herself, can probably help to elucidate the analysis of Japanese political discourse.

As already demonstrated in the previous sections, in the structure of the Japanese language, Qs are mostly lexicalized by final particles such as *ka* (Q marker), and *ne* (tag-like marker). These final particles have recently come to the attention not only of linguists but also of conversation analysts who recognize their uniqueness as language structures. These final particles may index feeling or attitude (Cook, 1988).

The fact that placement of Q markers, that is, final particles, is literally delayed until the end of a sentence enables speakers to decide at the last moment which final particle to use. In other words, depending upon the addressee's facial expression, the speaker may change his original intention from asking a Q to asserting an opinion, or from Yes/No Qs to tag-like phenomena. In any case, the final particle chosen to be employed indexes the speaker's respective affective disposition. It is thus expected that explicit and implicit interactions between speaker and addressee are taking place at the locations of question and response sequences.

In Japanese conversation, as in all conversation though to differing degrees, the relationship between participants is of great importance. Any overt conflict between speaker and addressee could jeopardize the harmony of an interaction if expressed directly. In Japan, conversation is a way of creating and reinforcing the emotional ties that bind people together (Clancy, 1986). Therefore, overt expression of a conflicting opinion is regarded as taboo. Throughout Japanese discourse, avoidance of overt control and overt conflict is exemplified in the choice and use of Qs. The present analysis of Japanese political discourse supports this cultural concept by indicating how Q types are carefully chosen in order to mitigate potential conflict in a political discussion.

Japanese views of verbal communication may also impact the use of Qs by participants in political encounters. Reddy (1979) suggested that while Americans believe the main responsibility for successful communication rests with speakers, Japanese feel it rests with the listener. In his comparison of English and Japanese writing, Hinds (1987) claims that in English writing, all responsibility lies with the writer who has to make himself clear, while in Japanese writing, the reader takes the ultimate responsibility, since much is being left to the reader to interpret from the literal meaning of the writing. According to Nakamura (1984), expressions which are too transparent to allow an addressee to make his own interpretation sound aggressive. In the present study of political discourse, the preference for the ambiguity of WH-Qs and tag-like markers, which facilitates a middle-ground of negotiation between the speaker and the addressee, reflects this Japanese view of verbal communication.

CONCLUSION

This investigation into the distribution of Q types and the qualitative analysis of Qs in terms of turn and topical control yields the following results: Yes/No Qs, which have a strong degree of both turn and topical control, are rarely used in the discourse. WH-Qs, which have a strong degree of turn control, but a weaker degree of topical control are moderately used. On the other hand, tag-like phenomena, which are ambiguous in terms of exerting turn and topical control, are the Q types most frequently displayed in the discourse. Based on these findings, I propose that Qs without overt control but with greater ambiguity in terms of desired addressee response are strategically utilized in the discourse: Depending on the discourse context, the degree of control is adjusted from the very weakest to the strongest levels by suprasegmental features and non-linguistic devices.

This study suggests that the general tendency to avoid overt control is a significant characteristic of Japanese argumentative discourse. The analysis of Qs in the discourse demonstrates that interlocutors try not to constrain one another to respond directly to the current topic or to explicitly state an opinion concerning that topic. Consequently, Japanese political discourse does not take the form of an argument which is logically built up turn-by-turn with explicitly stated opposing opinions.

The analysis of Qs as dispute markers shows that avoiding overt control and overt conflict is reflected in questioning strategies employed in the discourse. By avoiding overt control and overt verbal confrontation, which jeopardize the favorable relationship between speaker and addressee, participants try to appeal to each other's feelings and seek the 'cooperation' of the addressee. This work is done through employing Qs which possess pragmatic ambiguity, and which are ultimately aimed at skillfully convincing the addressee without overt confrontation, but with the possible threat of an emotional argument, all of which may represent a prototypical form of Japanese-like argumentation. In general, cross-linguistic study shows that final particles frequently index affect (Ochs, 1990). The claim that Japanese Qs in political discourse are mostly marked by final particles that similarly index affective disposition contribute to our more general understanding of Qs in Japanese discourse. Affect is a highly valued dimension in Japanese communication, where relationships among participants are most crucial.

Since the present study is based on the analysis of the transcription of only one television panel discussion, the findings reported here should be viewed as tentative. Certainly, expanding this study by looking at similar data will increase the validity and generality of the results. As pointed out, the data presented here are limited in not being totally spontaneous because of the television setting. There is no doubt that other data must be collected to further validate the analysis; however, it would also be interesting to examine an ordinary, unstaged Japanese political conversation to compare the two types of discourse.

Although the eight participants in this discussion are divided into three speaker groups of moderators, critics, and politicians, the present work did not examine any specific features found within each speaker group. Breaking down the analysis of Qs into speaker groups may further elucidate the findings of the present study and should therefore be done in future studies.

The present study began as an attempt to investigate Qs in Japanese political discourse; however, in the course of the study, it was found that dealing with final particles is indispensable in examining Qs in Japanese discourse. As mentioned in the methods section, it was difficult to define Qs in Japanese, which may be itself an indication of the inherent ambiguity in Qs in Japanese. Some linguists argue that in Japanese, there is not a clear distinction, but rather a non-discrete speech act continuum between what has been traditionally labeled as 'declarative' and 'interrogative', lexicalized by final particles (cf. Tsuchihashi 1983). The analysis in this report indicates that, when considering issues of control and conflict, final particles are crucial to the discussion of Qs in Japanese political discourse. This study was at least able to show the necessity for a more thorough examination of final particles in the analysis of Qs in Japanese.

Finally, it is expected that the present work will be further validated if it is someday accompanied by a comparative study done on questioning in American political argumentative discourse.

NOTES

[1] Although the data base was collected from only one source, because of the random nature of the selection process, the findings of the present study demonstrated several essential points that could be applicable to other sets of data using similar political discourse.

[2] Mikami (1972) admitted the difficulty of defining Qs and claimed that there is a gradual change from Qs to declarative sentences in Japanese. A very recent study even points out that there is no such thing as a questioning sentence in Japanese (Tsuchiya, 1990)

[3] Abbreviations of morphological glosses, used for ease of reading, are listed in the Appendix.

[4] A WH-Q can have *ne* or *deshoo* at the end, although examples have not been found in the data used for this study. It is inferred that there might be some differences among WH-Q without a final particle, WH-Qs with *ka*, and WH-Qs with *ne* or *deshoo*, which would illuminate more of the findings of the present study. This will be further examined in a future study..

[5] It must be noted that *ne* and *deshoo* can occur not only at the end of a sentence, but also at the end of a phrase. Phrase-final uses of *ne* and *deshoo* have been excluded from this study since they are generally not regarded as tag-like phenomena markers by linguists.

[6] In the present study, however, it is essential to have an independent classification of Tag-like Phenomena, because they have distinctive characteristics which set them apart from both Yes/No Qs and Prosodic Qs. While Yes/No Qs grammatically ask a yes or no response from the addressee, Tag-like Phenomena contain a statement and generally seek confirmation or agreement, in which case the desire of these responses is usually considered to be stronger than in the case of Yes/No Qs. Prosodic Qs in the categorization used in this study do not have *ka* or the markers *ne* or *deshoo*, and usually elicit a yes or no response as Yes/No Qs do.

[7] Maynard (1987) regards forms like *deshoo*, *daroo*, and others like *janai*, *janaika*, and *jan* as Tag-Q-like auxiliary verbs and treats the final particle *ne* as a 'particle of rapport' instead of as a Tag-like marker. But it is also claimed that *ne* has functions of inquiry, confirmation, or request for agreement, which fall under the category of Tag-like Phenomena in the present study. Forms like *daroo*, *janai*, *janaika*, and *jan*, have not been found in these data, because of their inappropriateness in this particular formal setting.

[8] Although it was not identified in these data, it is also possible to imagine a situation such as the interrogation of a suspect by the police, in which *ka* with a falling intonation does receive a response.

[9] It is worth noting that all Yes/No Qs in these data happen to have rising intonation, which could be related to the fact that they all received responses, whereas *ne* was executed with various intonations, and received fewer responses.

[10] Because of the limited amount of data especially involving *deshoo*, the claims made should be viewed as tentative, but probable, based on the fact that these figures are based on a random sampling of data, and are therefore at the very least, indicative of a certain trend.

[11] This "*un*" in example 1 is distinguished from a backchanneling cue, although it is also regarded as another form of response in the present study. P1's utterance here is regarded as turn because P1's utterance is very clear and is preceded by a pause and followed by M3's next utterance beginning with "*DAKARA:::*", all of which imply that M3 actually waited for P1 to take a turn to acknowledge M3's claim.

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APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

For the help of readers, the transcription ? : rising intonation. not necessarily a Q.

! : an animated tone. not necessarily an exclamation.
! !: emphasis of the words between ! !.

Capital letters are used to indicate an utterance or part thereof, that is spoken much louder than the surrounding talk.

** Speakers of each utterance is indicated as
P1 & P2: Politician 1 and Politician 2
C1 & C2 & C3: Economist 1, Economist 2, Economist 3
M1 & M2 & M3: Moderator 1, Moderator 2, and Moderator 3

Transcription conventions which appeared in this study are listed as follows.

[: overlapping utterance
: : extension of the sound or syllable it follows
. : a stopping fall in tone. not necessarily the end of a sentence.
, : continuing intonation. not necessarily between clauses of a sentence.
( ) short, untimed pause

Abbreviations of Morphological Glosses

be : copula
EMPH: emphatic marker
FP : final particle
INST: instrumental particle
LC: locative particle
LK : linker (linking nominal and nominal adjectives)
neg: negative
NM: nominalizer
O : object marker
.P > non-final particle
past: past tense marker

QT: quotative marker
Q: question particle
S : subject marker
SF: softener
T: topic marker

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English and Japanese: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parental Styles of Narrative Elicitation

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To study culturally preferred narrative elicitation patterns, conversations between mothers and children from three different groups were analyzed: (1) Japanese-speaking mother-child pairs living in Japan, (2) Japanese-speaking mother-child pairs living in the U.S., and (3) English-speaking North American (Canadian) mother-child pairs. Study One, which compared mothers from the two different Japanese groups, suggests that Japanese mothers in the U.S. were more likely to prompt their children to extend the topic right after uttering *huun* ('well'). Study Two, which included the English-speaking mother-child pairs, yielded the following salient contrasts: (1) In comparison to English-speaking mothers, mothers of both Japanese groups gave proportionately less evaluation. (2) Both in terms of frequency and proportion, mothers of both Japanese groups gave more verbal acknowledgment than did English-speaking mothers. (3) However, Japanese mothers in the U.S. requested proportionately more description from their children than did Japanese mothers in Japan. At five years, Japanese-speaking children, whether living in Japan or the U.S., produced roughly 1.2 utterances per turn on average, whereas English-speaking children produced approximately 2.1 utterances per turn, a significant difference. Thus, while English-speaking mothers allow their children to take long monologic turns and give many evaluative comments, Japanese mothers, whether living in Japan or the U.S., simultaneously pay considerable attention to their children's narratives and facilitate frequent turn exchanges. The two studies reported in this paper thus suggest that these differences and similarities may be explained in terms of culture; that is, while inducting their children into a communicative style that is reflective of their native culture, Japanese mothers living in the U.S. are, at the same time, subject to the influence of Western culture. Implications of these findings are further considered in the light of improving cross-cultural understanding.

INTRODUCTION

In any society, a child's life is driven in part by particular models of what parents believe to be the "good life" and the "ideal individual." A culture consists of such shared beliefs, customs, and values (Fischer & Lazerson, 1984;

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Super & Harkness, 1980). According to specific cultural norms, distinct goals and plans for child development are implemented in a wide variety of ways. Parents, especially mothers, in each culture socialize their children differently. Through the process of socialization, children acquire the ability to recognize and interpret the variety of activities that take place in their socioculturally specific environments. Thus, children growing up in different cultures have particular experiences through which they develop diverse expectations, preferences, and even beliefs.

In this paper, "culture" is considered in relation to linguistic/discursive phenomena. As Hymes (1974) stresses, from early childhood on, children learn the appropriate social use of their language, as well as its grammar and vocabulary, based on cultural expectations. The acquisition of culture-specific communicative competence thus plays a significant role in the process of language acquisition and the development of narrative discourse skills. Miller (1982), for instance, describes a variety of culture-specific routinized interactions between mothers and their children in South Baltimore, and calls such interactions "direct instruction" (e.g., directing the children to say "please," "excuse me," and "thank you" when appropriate). Miller's study suggests that while children from lower-class families in South Baltimore use distinct styles, these children are not linguistically deprived. Rather, the children's acquisition of a culture-specific communicative style plays a significant role in the process of language acquisition and the development of language skills, such as narrative discourse skills.

Miller's study adds to a host of research that demonstrates that different cultures have different priorities with respect to caring for, socializing, and educating young children. In another such study, Heath (1982, 1983, 1986) describes children growing up in European American middle-class, European American working-class, and African American working-class families in Appalachia who have different experiences with literacy and develop different expectations concerning behavior and attitudes towards reading and writing events. In divergent cultural settings, therefore, we can observe dissimilarities in parental expectations and their resultant differing communicative styles.

Japanese children are also trained differently from children in Western societies, despite the fact that both Japanese children and their Western counterparts live in similar industrial societies and, in this sense, experience no major environmental or social differences. Nevertheless, there are significant, however subtle, differences between the two cultures. As Lebra (1976) argues, the Japanese ethos can be characterized by social relativism, within which the individual is defined by the reference groups to which he or she belongs, including household, residential area, school attended, or place of employment. On the other hand, American culture is characterized by the ethos dominated by the pursuit of individual autonomy and self-interest. As a reflection of these dissimilarities, therefore, early socialization processes in these two societies are significantly different.

Since a child must learn to speak a particular language with its culture-specific representational forms and rules of use, language practice is one aspect of early socialization that may reflect cultural differences. Caudill and Schooler (1973) found that American children, at ages two-and-a-half and six years, used verbal expression to communicate positive as well as negative emotions more frequently than did Japanese children of the corresponding ages. Also, Caudill and Weinstein (1969) found that Japanese middle-class mothers talked far less frequently to their toddlers than did American middle-class mothers. Following Caudill's *cultural transmission* model, therefore, in a characteristically individualistic society such as the United States, an individual should be verbally assertive, whereas in a characteristically group-oriented society such as Japan, an individual should be verbally restrained. Thus, language development in a given culture consists of understanding how language is used by the adults who are representing that culture.

More specifically, from an early age, Japanese children go through the enculturation process of *omoiyari* ('empathy'), which is embedded in the larger context of Japanese culture (Azuma, 1986; Clancy, 1986; Doi, 1973; Lebra, 1976; Shigaki, 1987). As Clancy (1986) argues, a Japanese individual who is truly empathetic does not rely on explicit verbal cues to understand someone's wishes because these should be intuited through more subtle cues of gesture and tone. The elliptical, affect-oriented style favored by Japanese mothers (e.g., Bornstein, Azuma, Tamis-LeMonda, & Ogino, 1990) illustrates that they are sensitive to their children. More important, the empathetic style used by Japanese mothers helps their children acquire this subtle communicative style (Azuma, 1986; Shigaki, 1987). Furthermore, Japanese mothers tend to think that, in the preschool period of development, children mature emotionally and learn to be polite and obedient (cf. Hess, Kashiwagi, Azuma, Price, & Dickson, 1980). In other words, Japanese mothers believe that even preschool children should be capable of reading the minds of others and putting themselves in another person's position in order to understand that person's feelings. From an early age on, therefore, children go through the process of empathy training highly valued in Japanese society (Clancy, 1986). Verbosity is traditionally frowned upon, and proverbs like "Silence is golden," "Still waters run deep," and "The mouth is the source of misfortune" are favorably used. In Japanese society, mothers, as primary caregivers, thus induct their children into a subtle interactive communicative style.

PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The purpose of the present study is to examine culturally preferred narrative elicitation patterns. The underlying assumption is that since the mother is generally the primary interactant for a young child, the child's early conversational context is shaped by maternal questions and prompts. As a natural extension of this assumption, the mother, either implicitly or explicitly, provides her child with culturally appropriate narrative forms. Thus, as a result of social interactions, young children's narratives are shaped into culturally preferred patterns. In the following report, two major questions are addressed:

(1) How do parents guide their children in the acquisition of culture-specific styles of narrative?

(2) Are there any style similarities and/or differences in narrative elicitation between mothers of five-year-olds in different cultures?

METHODS

Subjects

Conversations between mothers and children from the following three groups were analyzed to study culturally preferred narrative patterns: (1) 10 middle-class Japanese five-year-olds and their mothers living in Japan; (2) 8 middle-class Japanese five-year-olds and their mothers living in the United States; and (3) 8 English-speaking middle-class Canadian five-year-olds and their mothers.

None of the Japanese mother-child pairs living in Japan had lived overseas at the time of interview. All the Japanese mother-child pairs living in the United States had lived in the United States for more than one year but less than three years. Also, since all the Japanese five-year-olds living in the United States were enrolled in local preschools, they were mainly exposed to English at school. In their homes, however, Japanese had remained their primary language.

Each group is balanced in terms of gender and the children's average age. Mothers were asked to tape-record conversations at home with their children, discussing past experiences in as natural a way as possible. Some mother-child pairs talked about more events than others. Thus, to establish a comparable data base, I decided to analyze only the initial three narrative productions by each mother-child pair.

STUDY ONE

Narrative discourse devices in Japanese

The first study I will discuss was designed to provide detailed information regarding how discourse devices employed by Japanese mothers shape their children's narrative style. Specifically, I will discuss two major types of discourse devices: (1) the listener's *un* ('uh huh') in response to the narrator's *ne* ('you know') and (2) the listener's use of *huun* ('well').

Example 1 below is from Sachi, a 5-year, 9-month-old Japanese girl living in Japan. Sachi and her mother are in the middle of a conversation about how her teacher was disguised as a spook at a birthday party that was held in preschool.

Example 1. Sachi and her mother's interaction

(Note: CHI: Child, MOT: Mother)
MOT: *tanjoobi kai de obake yashiki shite,*
'At a birthday party, (you) played a haunted house.'
CHI: *ehtto* ***ne****,*
'Um, you know,'
(MOT: ***un***)
'uh huh'
CHI: *sensei uso tsuiten yan.*
'the teacher was a liar.'
koo shite ***ne****,*
'(She) did this, you know,'
(MOT: ***un)***
'uh huh'
CHI: *sensei ga* ***ne****,*
'the teacher, you know,'
(MOT: ***un***)
'uh huh'
CHI: *omen kabutte,*
'put on a mask,'
koo shite ***ne****,*
'and did this, you know,'
(MOT: ***un***)
'uh huh'

---------------------------(omit segment)------------------------

CHI: *datte sensei **ne**,*
'because the teacher, you know,'
(MOT: ***un***)
'uh huh'

CHI: *Kumagumi san no heya e itta toki **ne**,*
'when (we) went into the *Kumagumi* (Bear Class) room, you know,'
(MOT: ***un***)
'uh huh'

CHI: *konna kao yatta mon.*
'(we found her face) was like this.'
(MOT: ***ah so***)
'uh really'

CHI: *obake no kao yatta mon.*
'(Hers) was a spooky face.'

MOT: *obake no kao yattan.*
'(Hers) was a spooky face.'
he:!
'Dear!'

Spoken Japanese is often produced in smaller units than traditional grammatical ones, such as a sentence or a clause. These smaller units are often marked by the particle *ne*, which corresponds to 'you know,' 'right?,' 'don't you agree?,' or a tag question in English. The particle *ne* also serves as a marker of what Maynard (1989) calls a "pause-bounded phrasal unit," which would correspond to what Chafe (1980) calls an "idea unit"--a series of brief spurts in narrative discourse. As Uchida (1986) mentions, children constantly use *ne* at the boundary of a grammatical construct, such as a sentence or phrase boundary. Sachi's narrative in example 1 (above) supports the explanations derived from other researchers (e.g., Maynard, 1989; Uchida, 1986). That is, these smaller parts (i.e., pause-bounded phrasal units), segmented by sentence- or clause-final particles (e.g., *koo shite **ne**,* 'did this, you know') as well as particles within a sentence (e.g., *sensei **ne***, 'the teacher, you know'), serve as units in oral Japanese discourse.

More importantly, the particle *ne* contributes to the harmonious mutual understanding that is highly valued in Japanese society. The effectiveness of *ne* in this regard is also evidenced in example 1. Responding to the child's *ne* ('you know'), the mother frequently shows brief acknowledgment with *un* ('uh huh') and thus scaffolds the child's narrative production. That is, by uttering *ne*, the speaker may elicit the listener's brief verbal acknowledgment; in return, the listener's frequent brief acknowledgment *un* is a discursive device that helps the narrator construct a sentence, thereby facilitating narration. For this reason, *ne* is sometimes called an interactional particle (Maynard, 1992), by which the narrator seeks the listener's acknowledgment and thus tries to establish narrator-listener rapport. In this way, this mutual exchange is particularly important in Japanese society, in which people tend to attach a significant meaning to rapport and empathy (Doi, 1971; Lebra, 1976). As mentioned above, the mother's frequent verbal acknowledgment thus helps construct mutually shared frameworks.

In studying any narratives, researchers must recognize the importance of the listener's brief acknowledgments, which have been called "back-channeling" (Schegloff, 1982). Uchida (1986) has claimed that without listeners' proper brief acknowledgments, the storyteller would not be able to tell folktales rhythmically. Likewise, in discussing Japanese conversation, Maynard (1989) has stated, "Storytelling is a joint activity between the storyteller and the story recipient. The recipient plays an important role by co-authoring the text as well as by negotiating the meaning of the Narrative Event" (p. 99). As far as Japanese narrative is concerned, the story recipient's brief acknowledgments effectively signal that he or she shares common ground with the storyteller.

In this paper, however, I intentionally avoid using the term "back-channeling" because this term implies an unconditional signal to go on talking. In the context of mother-child interactions in particular, the Japanese mother speaks few words and few utterances per turn, and instead, often simply shows attention, which, in fact, serves to divide the child's utterances into small units. Because of this nature, in this paper I use alternative expressions such as "brief verbal acknowledgment" or "statements showing attention." As shown in example 1, the *ne--un* sequence fulfills both of these functions.

A second discursive device used by many Japanese mothers to show attention is *huun* ('well'). In Japanese adult discourse, *huun* has been described as serving a prefacing function signaling the introduction of a new topic (Maynard, 1989; Yamada, 1992). The Japanese mother-child interaction, however, reveals that the use of *huun* has the following three different functions: (1) prefacing of topic-extension, (2) simple verbal acknowledgment, and (3) prefacing of topic-switch.

When a child talks about a particular incident, if the mother says, *huun, sorekara* ('Well. Then?') or more extensively *huun, sorekara doo shita no?* (Well. Then, what did you do?') the mother's use of *huun* indicates that she wants the child to extend the topic. Thus, this use of *huun* serves as prefacing of topic-extension. Notice that in examples 2 and 3 below, *huun* comes right before the topic extension statement:

Example 2. Ayaka (a Japanese girl in Japan, aged 5;3)
CHI: *ocha gashi mitai na yatsu tabeta.*
'(I) ate something like a tea cake.'
MOT: *honto.*
'Really.'
huun. [prefacing of topic-extension]
'Well.'
sorekara?
'Then?'

Example 3. Satoshi (a Japanese boy in the U.S., aged 5;3)
MOT: *huun.* [prefacing of topic-extension]
'Well.'
ano sensei nante namae daro?
'What is that teacher's name?'
CHI: *wakan nai.*
'(I) don't know.'

On the other hand, if the mother says to the child *huun*, and the child then continues his or her story, it can be interpreted that the mother simply acknowledges what the child has said. As shown in examples 4 and 5 below, the function of this *huun* ('well') is thus very similar to the function of the previously mentioned *un* ('uh huh'):

Example 4. Akio (a Japanese boy in Japan, aged 5;6)
CHI: *niwatori mo ita.*
'(I) saw chickens, too.'
MOT: *huun.* [simple acknowledgment]
'Well.'
CHI: *de ne gyuunyuu nonda.*
'And, you know, (I) drank milk.'

Example 5. Koshiro (a Japanese boy in the U.S., aged 5;9)
CHI: *yellow team ga katta mitai.*
'The yellow team seems to have won the game.'
MOT: *huun.* [simple acknowledgment]
'Well.'
CHI: *Shusuke nante ikkai mo irerenakattanda yo.*
'Shusuke couldn't throw (it) in even once, I tell you.'

Further, if the mother says, *huun, hoka ni nani shita no kyoo yoochien de?* ('Well. What else did you do in preschool today?') the use of *huun* signals a preface to a new topic. Notice that in examples 6 and 7, *huun* comes right before the topic-switch statement. Specifically, in example 7, Teru's mother changes the topic of conversation from play to lunch:

Example 6. Sachi (a Japanese girl in Japan, aged 5;9)
MOT: *huun.* [prefacing of topic-switch]
'Well.'
sonnara ne, eh tto hora ano yoochien no otomari hoiku atta ja nai.
'Then (changing the topic), you know, um (you) had overnight schooling.'
CHI: *un.*
'Yeah.'

Example 7. Teru (a Japanese boy in the U.S., aged 5;1)
CHI: *Yuri chan to Aki kun to boku.*
'Yuri and Aki and I.'
MOT: *huun.* [prefacing of topic-switch]
'Well.'
obento kinoo wa takusan nokoshite kita kedo.
'Speaking of lunch yesterday, (you) left a lot.'

As can be seen in these examples, *huun* indicates a certain mental transition; while uttering *huun*, the mother evidently decides whether to continue the current topic or terminate it and introduce a new one. Overall, we may be able to conclude that the more the mother uses this discourse device of prefacing of topic-extension, the further the child develops the topic. As can be seen above, however, statements showing attention can be used for the purpose of controlling children's utterances (e.g., prefacing of topic-switch). That is, while sometimes *huun* is used by the listener to preface topic-extension, at other times *huun* is used by the listener to take the floor through topic-switch.

RESULTS

Two types of discourse devices in Japanese were statistically analyzed, namely, first, the child's *ne* ('you know') immediately followed by the mother's *un* ('uh huh') and second, maternal prefacing *huun* ('well').[1] For the first discourse device (*ne* followed by *un*), I counted frequencies of the child's *ne* immediately followed by the mother's *un* and conducted a two-way (group × gender) analysis of variance (ANOVA) on this frequency variable. This test revealed that there was no significant effect of group or gender.[2] As far as this variable is concerned, therefore, whether living in Japan or the United States, Japanese mothers use the same strategy to support their children's narrative production.

For the second discourse device (the use of *huun*), I conducted a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) for the three dependent variables, (1) prefacing of topic-extension *huun*, (2) simple acknowledgment *huun*, and (3) prefacing of topic-switch *huun* ('well').[3] MANOVA followed by a series of analyses of variance (ANOVA) revealed that compared to Japanese mothers living in Japan, Japanese mothers living in the United States were more likely to use *huun* ('well') as prefacing of topic-extension.[4] This result indicates that compared to Japanese mothers living in Japan, Japanese mothers living in the United States were more likely to give their topic-extension prompts right after uttering *huun*.

STUDY TWO

In earlier research Minami and McCabe (1991a) found that Japanese elementary-school children living in the United States tend to tell concise stories that are cohesive collections of several experiences. Minami and McCabe also found that this succinct narrative style exhibited by Japanese children shows a remarkable contrast to European-American children's narrative style, which is often a lengthy story that details a single experience and often revolves around the solution of some problem.

To identify the discourse patterns that may account for such differences in early mother-child interactions, Study Two includes the narratives of North American parent-child pairs collected by McCabe and Peterson (1990, 1991)[5] in addition to the previously discussed two Japanese groups. Consider, for example, the following dialogue between a five-year-old Canadian girl, Kelly, and her mother. Unlike the Japanese five-year-olds' narratives previously presented, Kelly takes longer monologic turns. As can be seen below, Kelly's mother neither facilitates frequent turn exchanges nor gives frequent verbal acknowledgment.

Example 8. Kelly and her mother's interaction

MOT: Why don't you tell me about the time you fell down on the Decker's driveway?
CHI: I was in my backyard playing.
And I heard this fighting noise.
And I thought that someone was badly hurt.
So I ran into the Decker's driveway.
I had, I had a big cut.
And it was my biggest cut I ever had.
MOT: Oh, that must have really hurt eh?
CHI: Uh huh.

Coding

Transcripts of all parents' speech were scored according to Dickinson's (1991) system, which was previously used to analyze how speech acts are mapped onto dialogic narrative discourse in English (Dickinson, 1991; McCabe & Peterson, 1991). By using Dickinson's coding scheme as a basis, Minami and McCabe (1991b, 1993, in press) have devised appropriate coding rules that are also applicable cross-linguistically, particularly to Japanese data.

Figure 1. Coding System

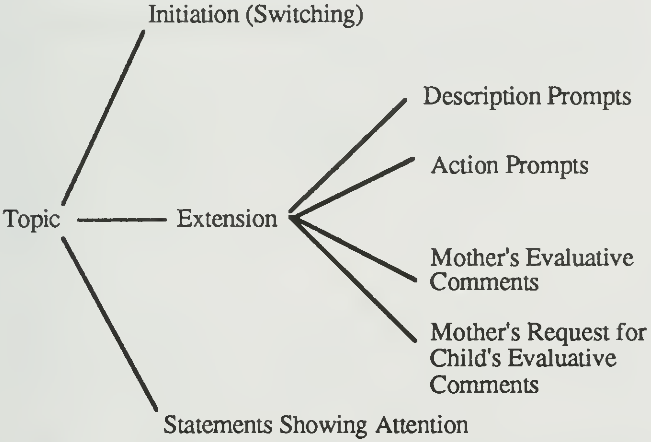
Initiation (Switching)
Topic
Extension
Description Prompts
Action Prompts
Mother's Evaluative Comments
Mother's Request for Child's Evaluative Comments
Statements Showing Attention

Figure 1 gives a visual representation of coding rules for parental speech; transcripts of all parents' speech were scored according to these coding rules. Parental utterances were coded as one of three types: (I) topic-initiation (or topic-switch), (II) topic-extension, and (III) other conversational strategies, which show attention, such as 'uh huh' and 'well.' Speech patterns categorized as topic-extension were further categorized into: (A) descriptive statements that describe a scene, a condition, or a state, (B) statements about actions that, accompanied by an action verb, describe a specific action, (C) mother's evaluative comments, and (D) mother's request for child's evaluative comments. Detailed guidelines for these categorizations are explained in the Appendix.[6]

RESULTS

First, I analyzed frequencies, which represent the impact that loquaciousness might have on children's narration (e.g., McCabe & Peterson, 1991; Reese, Haden, & Fivush, 1992). In addition, I used proportions because they correct for differences in length and allow us to see differing relative emphasis on components of narration. To test for the effect of group and gender, I conducted multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) for the major coding categories: 1) maternal requests for the child's descriptions, actions, and evaluations, 2) maternal evaluations, 3) statements showing attention, and 4) initiation (see Table 1).

Table 1. Mean frequencies and percentages of mothers' prompts to children about past events

		Japanese Mothers in Japan	Japanese Mothers in U.S.	English-speaking Mothers	F^a values for main effect of GROUP
		M	*M*	*M*	
Requests for descriptions					
	Frequency	15.00	14.00	17.63	0.25
	Percentage	14.72%	20.81%	18.90%	3.82*
Requests for actions					
	Frequency	23.50	15.50	17.88	0.95
	Percentage	24.30%	22.68%	19.84%	0.37
Requests for evaluations					
	Frequency	16.50	8.75	21.38	2.04
	Percentage	17.18%	14.24%	21.44%	1.40
Evaluation by mother herself					
	Frequency	15.40	7.75	28.25	2.98
	Percentage	14.69%	8.85%	28.01%	9.13**
Statements showing attention					
	Frequency	27.10	17.50	7.50	4.29*
	Percentage	26.18%	28.31%	8.46%	6.32**

Initiation					
	Frequency	2.80	2.75	2.38	0.65
	Percentage	2.93%	5.11%	3.35%	2.71

$*p < 0.05$
$**p < 0.01$

[a] **Degrees of freedom = 2, 20**

With regard to frequencies, the results of MANOVA and subsequent ANOVA and other related tests suggest that mothers of both Japanese groups gave more verbal acknowledgment (i.e., statements showing attention) than did English-speaking mothers (see Figure 2).[7]

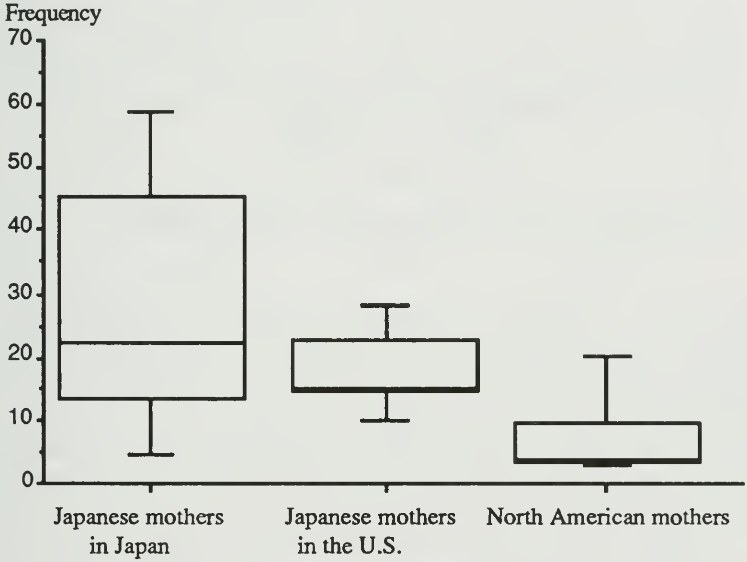

Figure 2: Maternal Statements Showing Attention (Frequency)

In terms of proportions, the results of MANOVA and a series of a subsequent ANOVA and other related tests suggest the following:[8] (1) In comparison to English-speaking mothers, Japanese-speaking mothers in both groups gave proportionately less evaluation (see Figure 3). (2) Mothers of both Japanese groups gave proportionately more verbal acknowledgment (i.e., statements showing attention) than did English-speaking mothers (see Figure 4). (3) However, Japanese mothers living in the United States requested proportionately more description from their children than did Japanese mothers living in Japan. Moreover, there was no statistically significant difference observed between Japanese mothers living in the United States and English-speaking mothers (see Figure 5).

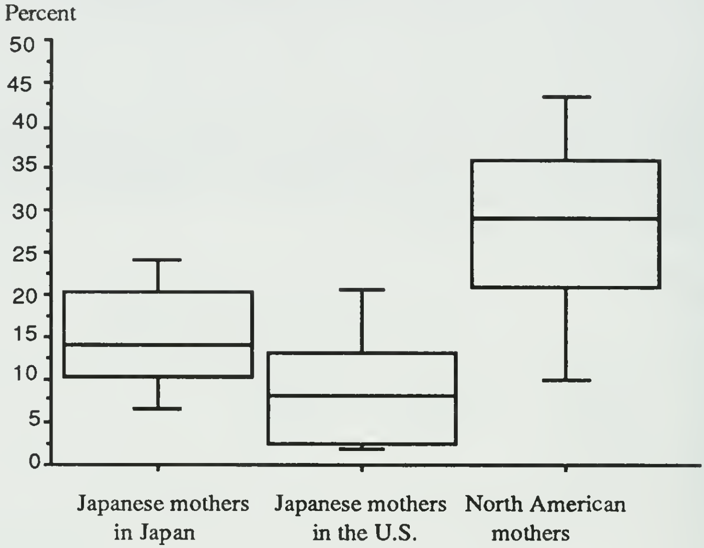

Figure 3: **Mother's Evaluative Comments (Percentage)**

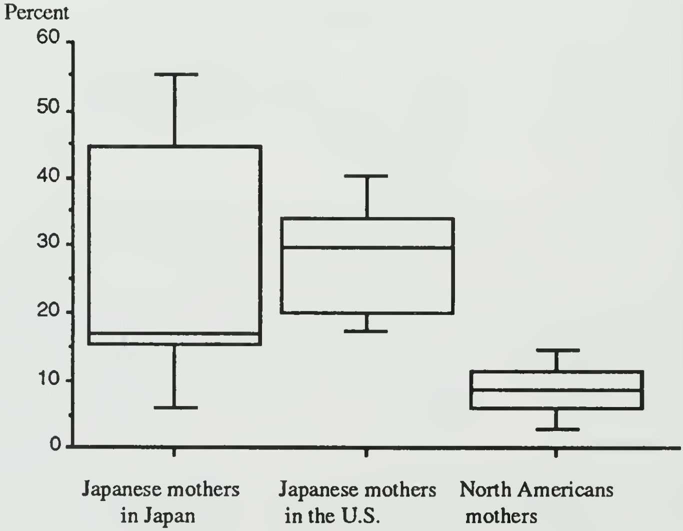

Figure 4: **Maternal Statements Showing Attention**

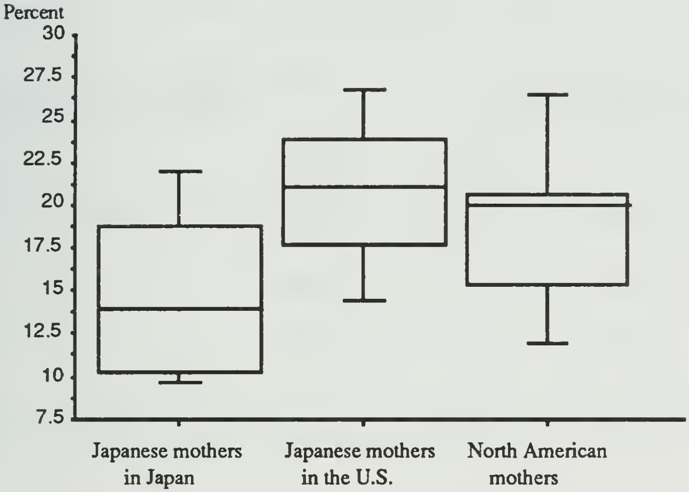

Figure 5: **Maternal Requests for Descriptions (Percentage)**

Child's Length of Turns

In addition to the frequencies of the coded behaviors, I examined the child's utterances over turns (UOT, or, the number of utterances produced by a speaker per turn). As Tables 2a, 2b, and 2c illustrate, around the age of 5 years, although males' utterances (2.33) are slightly longer than females' (1.90), English-speaking children produced 2.11 utterances per turn on the average. On the other hand, Japanese children living in Japan and the United States produced 1.19 and 1.24 utterances per turn respectively. Thus, Japanese-speaking children, whether living in Japan or the United States, produced about 1.22 utterances on the average.[9]

A 3 × 2 (group × gender) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed on the variable, UOT. This ANOVA and a subsequent series of related tests revealed that Japanese children, whether living in Japan or the United States, produced fewer utterances per turn than did English-speaking children (Figure 6).[10]

Table 2a: Child's Ratio of Utterances Over Turns: English-speaking Group

English-speaking Male		English-speaking Female	
Child's Name Gender	UOT	Child's Name Gender	UOT
Carl	3.857	Cara	1.581
Gary	1.929	Harriet	1.274
Ned	1.550	Kelly	1.619
Paul	1.968	Leah	3.136
M	2.326 (*SD* 1.038)	*M*	1.903 (*SD* .837)

Table 2b: Child's Ratio of Utterances Over Turns: Japanese children in Japan

Japanese Male		Japanese Female	
Child's Name Gender	UOT	Child's Name Gender	UOT
Akio	1.203	Ayaka	1.019
Taka	1.102	Miki	1.197
Takato	1.027	Minori	1.786
Tomo	1.219	Sachi	1.157
Wakao	1.078	Yuka	1.135
M	1.126 (*SD* .083)	*M*	1.259 (*SD* .302)

Table 2c: Child's Ratio of Utterances Over Turns: Japanese children in U.S.

Japanese Males in U.S.		Japanese Females in U.S.	
Child's Name Gender	UOT	Child's Name Gender	UOT
Kotaro	1.433	Aya	1.192
Satoshi	1.294	Mari	1.176
Shintaro	1.147	Nori	1.283
Teru	1.162	Yukari	1.258
M	1.259 (*SD* .133)	*M*	1.227 (*SD* .051)

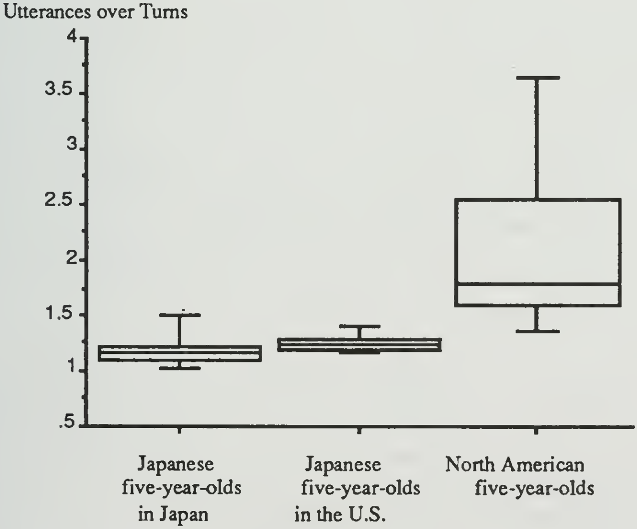

Figure 6:. Child's Ratio of Utterances over Turns

DISCUSSION

It has been claimed that in North America an individual should be verbally explicit, whereas in Japanese group-oriented society, an individual is allowed to be verbally implicit but should be empathetic (e.g., Lebra, 1976). For example, American elementary-school textbooks tend to "encourage the child to step away from the story, to analyze the situation and the actions of the characters, and to evaluate the effectiveness of their actions." Japanese elementary-school language textbooks, in contrast, tend to encourage "the child to imagine the feelings of another and merge his or her identity with that of the character, even if that character should happen to be an animal" (Gerbert, 1993, p. 161). Japanese teachers as well as textbooks ask their students to do some empathetic reading, such as "What do you think Character X really felt like at this point?" or "Let's understand Character X's feelings by putting ourselves in his or her position." Throughout all grade levels, Japanese education thus encourages children to empathize with others (and even personification is sometimes used for this empathy training).

I would argue that this "explicit vs. implicit but empathetic" contrast follows from early language socialization practices in the home. While North American mothers emphasize mastery of verbal skills, in contrast, Japanese mothers provide fewer evaluative comments in favor of a more implicit valuation. In other words, the Japanese school's emphasis on empathy parallels the strategy taken by Japanese mothers who, providing their young children with explicit training in empathy, appeal to the feelings of animals and even inanimate objects (Clancy, 1985, 1986). Recall that, rather than providing evaluative comments by themselves, mothers of both Japanese groups requested more evaluation from their children than did the North American mothers. Maternal elicitation strategies thus reflect mothers' culture-specific desire to develop particular narrative skills in their children.

Likewise, Japanese mothers' frequent use of verbal acknowledgment (e.g., the rapport/interactional particle *ne*) seems to support the claim that Japanese adults teach children the form of communication based upon empathy, which they believe is necessary to maintain the Japanese way of life (Clancy, 1986; Doi, 1973; Lebra, 1976). Following this line of interpretation, therefore, from early childhood on, children are accustomed to using these culturally valued narrative discourse skills due to interactions with their mothers.

The two studies reported in this paper, however, presented a rather complicated picture. Recall that in Study One, although both Japanese parental groups used *huun* ('well') as a discourse device, Japanese mothers living in the United States were more likely to use this device as prefacing of topic-extension. Similarly, in Study Two, Japanese mothers in the United States were found to behave more like North American mothers, who requested a substantial amount of description from their children. We should keep in mind, however, that even if they behaved like North American mothers, those Japanese mothers did behave differently from North American mothers in other respects. That is, while North American mothers allow their children to take long monologic turns, and give many evaluative comments, Japanese mothers, whether living in Japan or the United States, simultaneously pay considerable attention to their children's narratives and facilitate frequent turn exchanges. Thus, the present study has revealed that Japanese mothers living in the United States were influenced by American culture in some limited aspects (e.g., more topic-extension prompts right after uttering *huun* and more requests for description in eliciting narratives), while they retained other features that are considered to belong to Japanese culture.

To explain these differences and similarities in maternal patterns of narrative elicitation, we can think of environmental factors, or a larger framework of "culture" based on the social interaction paradigm (Bruner, 1977; Vygotsky, 1978). Since all the Japanese five-year-olds living in the United States were in local preschools, through interaction with American mothers, the Japanese mothers were likely to emulate how to interact with young children. Socialized into the behavioral patterns of the new group of people (i.e., American mothers), therefore, these Japanese mothers living in the United States might have learned the importance of verbalization.

At the same time, the Japanese mothers living in the United States retained some typically Japanese features because of the nature of the language they speak. Recall that, based on *omoiyari* ('empathy'), the Japanese language allows interlocutors to co-construct narrative tellings through specific mechanisms--the narrator's habitual use of pause-bounded phrasal unit markers (e.g., *ne*) and the listener's verbal acknowledgment (e.g., *un*) to them (Maynard, 1989). Moreover, Japanese mothers' frequent verbal acknowledgment contributed to their children's saying less per turn (lower UOT) than North American children of the same age. Thus, I assume that some typical Japanese features are kept by Japanese mothers living in the United States, due not only to the nature of the language itself, but also to underlying cultural beliefs.

Also, we should not forget that children's attitudes might have influenced their mothers' narrative elicitation strategies. The Japanese children in the United States were in a different social environment from that of the Japanese five-year-olds living in Japan. In addition to other environmental factors, possible attitude differences between the two Japanese children's groups might have caused parents' attitude changes. The attitudinal differences of parents are in turn reflected in their language practices, such as the more frequent use of *huun* to preface topic extension and the more frequent requests for topic description from their children. As these examples suggest, we should not simply conclude that since they are socially directed, children passively internalize the values of society. Instead, children and their environments (e.g., peers and mothers) should be viewed as parts of a dynamic system within which they actively interact with and influence each other. Individuals--children and adults alike--should therefore be considered active sense makers, who view alternatives and exercise choice, participating in the creation of their social circumstances (Mehan, 1992).

Overall, therefore, this paper suggests that the differences and similarities in language practices among these three groups can be explained in terms of a larger framework of "culture" based on the social interactional paradigm. Kagitcibasi (1989) argues that non-Western urban families often evolve a hybrid structure in which certain values and practices consonant with Western views coexist with traditional non-Western values. This explanation seems to hold true of Japanese mothers, particularly those living in the United States. While inducting their children into a communicative style that is reflective of their native culture, Japanese mothers living in the United States are, at the same time, subject to the influence of Western culture. It is thus important to highlight the finding that people from other cultures are influenced by Western culture in some ways but maintain certain original cultural traits.

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NOTES

[1] Audio-tapes were transcribed into computer files following the guidelines of Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts (CHAT) conventions for analysis by the Child Language Analysis (CLAN) software available through the Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES) (MacWhinney & Snow, 1985, 1990).

Also, using the categorization described above, all maternal ***huun*** utterances were categorized independently by two raters. Interrater agreement across the categories resulted in a Cohen's kappa statistic of .97, representing "almost perfect" agreement (Bakeman & Gottman, 1986; Landis & Koch, 1977).

[2] ANOVA revealed the following: (1) for Group, F (1, 14) = .203, $p > .05$, and (2) for Gender, F (1, 14) = .351, $p > .05$.

[3] The function of ***huun*** was categorized by examining the subsequent mother's or child's response. The categorization of topic-extension applies, if the mother extends the topic subsequent to ***huun***. Likewise, simple acknowledgment applies, if the child still continues his or her talk right after ***huun***. Finally, the topic-switch categorization applies, if the mother introduces an entirely new topic right after uttering ***huun***. Thus, the function of ***huun*** was categorized backwards.

[4] There was a main effect for group with Wilks' Lambda = .47, approximate F (3, 12) = 4.467, $p < .05$. Univariate ANOVAs, which were run for each of the dependent variables, revealed that this effect was largely attributable to a significant univariate effect on active topic-extension, F (1, 14) = 5.26, $p < .05$.

[5] The reason that I report five-year-olds' narratives in this paper is due to age constraints that emerge from analysis of the development of children's narratives. Children begin telling personal narratives from the age of two (Sachs, 1979), but in any culture these early productions are quite short through the age of three and a half years (McCabe & Peterson, 1991). Three-year-olds' narratives are often simple two-event narratives; four-year-olds' narratives are much more diverse, and five-year-olds tell lengthy, well-sequenced stories that end a little prematurely at the climax (McCabe & Peterson, 1990; Peterson & McCabe, 1983). In other words, preschool age represents the period of extremely rapid development in the child's acquisition of narrative capacity.

[6] All transcripts were coded by an individual who is bilingual in Japanese and English. Two full transcripts of Japanese and two full transcripts of English were independently coded by individuals fluent in each of those languages, respectively. Cohen's kappa, an estimate of reliability that corrects for chance rates of agreement, for the first level (topic-initiation, topic-extension, and statements showing attention) of the Japanese coding was 0.98; Cohen's kappa for the second level (descriptive statements, statements about actions, mother's evaluative comments, and mother's request for child's evaluative comments) was 0.83. Likewise, Cohen's kappa for the first level of the English coding was 1.00; and Cohen's kappa for the second level was 0.90. To describe the relative strength of agreement associated with kappa statistics, if the range is between 0.61 and 0.80, it is labeled as being "substantial"; further, if the range of kappa is over 0.81, it is considered to represent "almost perfect" agreement (Bakeman & Gottman, 1986; Landis & Koch, 1977). Thus, all estimates of reliability in our case fall into the range of "almost perfect" agreement.

[7] There was a multivariate effect of group, Wilks' Lambda = .18, approximate F (12, 30) = 3.39, $p < .01$. Univariate ANOVAs were run for each of the dependent variables. This effect was largely attributable to a significant univariate effect on maternal statements showing attention, F (2, 20) = 4.29, $p < .05$, and a marginal univariate effect on evaluations by mother herself, F (2, 20) = 2.98, $p < .08$. To pinpoint the locus of group differences, the results were further analyzed in Bonferroni Post Hoc tests.

[8] There was a significant multivariate effect of group, Wilks' lambda = .24, approximate F (10, 32) = 3.36, $p < .01$. Univariate ANOVAs were run for each of the dependent variables. The effect of group was largely attributable to significant effects on maternal requests for descriptions, F (2, 20) = 3.82, $\underline{p} < .05$, maternal evaluations, F (2, 20) = 9.13, $\underline{p} < .01$, and statements showing attention, F (2, 20) = 6.32, $\underline{p} < .01$. The results were further analyzed in Bonferroni Post Hoc tests.

[9] In order to resolve issues of equivalence between the two languages (Japanese and English), the information unit was used for transcribing the data. For example, *aruite aruite* ('[I] walked and walked') is simple repetition/emphasis of one particular action and thus one piece of information, while *te de totte aketa* ('[I] grabbed [it] by hand and opened [it]') consists of two separate actions and is thus considered two pieces of information. In other words, the definition of "utterance" in this study is based on the information unit. By doing so, the same phenomena observed in two different language groups were equated. Additionally, a turn was defined in both Japanese and English data as statements occurring before a listener responded.

[10] This ANOVA yielded a significant main effect of group, F (2, 20) = 7.76, $p < .01$. To pinpoint the locus of group differences, the ANOVA results were further analyzed in Bonferroni Post Hoc tests.

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APPENDIX: CODING SYSTEM

(I) Topic-Initiation (Switching)

1. Open-ended questions initiating a new topic (e.g., "*kyoo yoochien de nani shita no*?": "What did you do in preschool today?").
2. Closed-ended questions initiating a new topic (e.g., "*suuji awase yatta?*": "Did you play matching numbers?").
3. Statements initiating a new topic (e.g., "*kono mae Disneyland e itta de sho.*": "The other day we went to Disneyland.").

(II) Topic-Extension

4. Open-ended questions extending topics (e.g., "*nani ga ichiban suki datta?*": "What did you like best?").
5. Closed-ended questions extending topics (e.g., "*tanoshi katta*?": "Did you enjoy it?").
6. Statements extending a topic (e.g., "*nani ka itteta de sho.*": "You were saying something.").
7. Clarifying questions (e.g., "*nani?*": "what?").
8. Clarifying questions that were partial echoes (e.g., "*dare ga chu: shite kuretan*?": "Who gave you smacks?" after the child said, "*chu: chu: chutte yatte.*": "Smack, smack, smacked me.").
9. Echoes (e.g., "*shiranakatta no.*": "You didn't know" after the child said, "*shirana katta.*": "I didn't know.").

(III) Other Conversational Strategies

10. Statements showing attention, such as brief acknowledgment (e.g., "*un.*": "Yeah.") and prefacing utterances (e.g., "*huun.*": "Well.").

Speech patterns that are categorized into topic-extension are further categorized into:

A. Descriptive statements (which describe a scene, a condition, or a state)
"*ato Momotaro no hon mo atta de sho.*": "Besides there was a book about the Peach Boy."
"*denki ga tsuiteta ne.*": "There were electric lights, you know."
"*jibun de unten suru kuruma?*: "Is it a car that you drive on your own?"

B. Statements about actions (which, accompanied by an action verb, describe a specific action)
"*janken de saisho kimeta.*": "We tossed first by scissors, paper, and rock."
"*banana mo tabetan.*": "You also ate a banana."
"*umi ni ittetan?*": "Did you go to the sea?"
"*Yuki chan ga arattan.*": "Yuki washed."
"*nan te kaita no Yukari chan wa typewriter de?*": "what did you write with the typewriter?"

C. Mother's evaluative comments
"*sore ii ne.*": "That's good, you know."
"*Aki chan chiisa katta mon ne.*": "Because you were small, Aki, you know."
"*uso.*": "That's not true."

D. Mother's request for child's evaluative comments
"*sore doo omou?*": "What do you think about it?"
"*u chan no doko ga kawaii no*?": "What do you think makes the bunny cute?"
"*oishi kattan?*": "Did it taste good?"

Issues in Chinese Functionalism: An Interview with Sandra A. Thompson

Chiung-chih Huang
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PROFILE

Sandra A. Thompson is Professor of Linguistics at the University of California at Santa Barbara. She specializes in discourse and language universals, and is particularly interested in the role of patterns of conversational discourse in shaping morphosyntactic regularities. She is the co-author with Charles Li of *Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar*. She has co-edited *Studies in Transitivity* with Paul Hopper, *Clause Combining in Grammar and Discourse* with John Haiman, and *Discourse Description* with William C. Mann.

INTRODUCTION

The functional approach to Chinese has been one of the major trends in the study of Chinese grammar. This approach takes the position that language functions primarily as a tool of human communication and that linguistic forms are derived from and motivated by this communicative function. The approach challenges autonomous views of grammar, and explores the relationship between grammatical structures and the contexts in which they are used. Professor Sandra Thompson is one of the best-known Chinese functionalists and *IAL* is pleased that Prof. Thompson agreed to be the subject of this interview. In this interview, the topics include the central tenets of the functional approach, the development of Chinese functionalism, the lack of morphological complexity in Chinese, and the controversial issue of grammatical relations in Chinese. In addition, more personal questions include her initial interest in Chinese, her preparation of the famous Chinese Reference Grammar, and the focus of her recent research. This interview presents not only Prof. Thompson's view of Chinese functionalism, but also her personal experience as a researcher in this field.

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THE INTERVIEW

Huang: *Your research on Chinese linguistics has been so influential. I believe many people would be very curious as to how, as a native English speaker, you first got interested in Chinese. Could you please tell us a little about this?*

Thompson: I was a linguistics major at Ohio State University. One of my linguistics teachers was a Chinese linguist named William Wang. When I went to him and told him that I thought I was well prepared to do linguistics because I had taken French and German and now I was studying Russian (I thought that was all very exotic), he said, "All of that is within Indo-European. You really have to get outside of Indo-European. I think you should enroll in my Chinese class next quarter." William Wang had come to Ohio State to set up a linguistics program and a Chinese language program, and then he would turn the Chinese language program over to other people, but in those days he was also teaching Chinese language. So, I enrolled in Chinese and he was also my linguistics teacher, and that was how I got hooked on Chinese, and I never stopped.

When I started to study Chinese, something clicked for me as a linguist realizing that I was very bound in my ways of thinking that languages were like Indo-European languages. I think to understand any language we have to go outside of our own language family. Someone like you has done that naturally from the time you were ten or younger when you began to study English, but for me this happened much later. I had studied Russian and I thought it was very strange, but only when I began to study Chinese did I realize how important it is to look at at least two languages that are very very different from each other. So I think for me that was not just the beginning of the definition of a career for me in Chinese linguistics but also an awareness, for me as a teacher and a researcher and as a general linguist, of how different languages could be and how much I wanted to try to understand those differences. Although I was always very interested in linguistics, I think starting to study Chinese really made it very clear to me how fascinating it is and how important it is to try to see what different ways languages have of providing us with this communicative tool. That is what I am still working on and I think I always will be, and I think lots of linguists have this idea, but that was just the way it happened for me. I was lucky, I think, that I fell into Chinese, but it was a complete accident. It happens with a lot of people. I did not start out deciding I wanted to do Chinese, but when the opportunity was there, clearly I was ready for it.

Huang: *So you studied the Chinese language before you decided to do some research on Chinese?*

Thompson: That's right. But because of William Wang, the two started to go together very quickly. He was designing a number of research programs in Chinese syntax. In those days, people were very much interested in pursuing the implications of some of Chomsky's writings for Chinese, and I was involved in some of those projects. So it wasn't very long before I was applying my language knowledge and my linguistic knowledge, and beginning to bring those together. I actually was taking Chinese and working on Chinese linguistics pretty much concurrently. I was very lucky. In the '60s when I was in graduate school, there was a lot of interest in machine translation, and William Wang had some machine translation projects, so I was able to do a little work on those. People were very optimistic about machine translation in those days, but it certainly forced me to start thinking about the actual differences between Chinese and English, and how to think about them linguistically. So I think all that for me was very formative even though I didn't continue working in a formal framework for very long. I began to be very interested in semantics and pragmatics and those were just not being tackled by the formal frameworks. In a way I have been a Chinese language student ever since, of course, because you never stop studying your second language or your third or whatever it is.

I first went to live in Taiwan in 1966. I stayed there for three months. I was teaching English, and trying to speak as much Chinese as I could. Then I went back with Mack (my husband) to Taiwan to live in 1974-75. I was doing a study with Charles Li on tone acquisition, looking at how Mandarin-speaking babies learn to use tones. That study was eventually published in the *Journal of Child Language.* We had a wonderful time there doing that study, and I think that I learned a lot of Chinese that way and I also learned a lot about Chinese child raising practices ((*laughs*)).

In addition to my trip to Taiwan, I was very lucky to make a trip to Mainland China with Charles. We went to Inner Mongolia and lived there for several months, and we worked on some dialects of speakers that happened to be living in that area, although they did not come from that area. That was another aspect of my field work.

Huang: *In 1981, you and Charles Li published a collaborative book* Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar.[1] *This book has been such an important work not only for students and teachers of Chinese but also for linguists and sinologists. Can you tell us something about your preparation of this book?*

Thompson: We started working on that Mandarin Reference Grammar almost as the very first collaboration that we had, Charles and I. We began to work together in the early '70s, and we were working on a range of topics. By the time we went to Taiwan in '74-'75, we began to realize we might want to put a book together. So we did a fair amount of work in Taiwan at that time working with native speakers and trying to solve some of the more difficult problems, especially the ones involving the particles, which is still a very difficult issue. Then we went back to Taiwan in 1978 specifically to collect more data for the Mandarin Reference Grammar. By 1978, we knew that we would write this grammar. So, that is a little bit about how those two stories converge. That first field trip was specifically doing tone acquisition, but we already had it in our minds that we wanted to write this grammar. So we prepared for that book for at least ten years, working on various areas and trying to get as much real spoken data as we could. Even if it wasn't necessarily connected discourse, we were trying to elicit sentences in the right contexts. We were very much interested in context-based uses of language.

Huang: *What do you think are the major differences between this book and most of the earlier Mandarin grammar books?*

Thompson: The earlier works had tended to be what I think of as more structural. Looking at Chinese from a structural point of view is an attempt to describe syntactic or grammatical structures as a kind of a puzzle in and of itself. But what we were trying to do was something more functional in the sense of taking these structures and looking at them in context. As I say, we were interested in the contexts in which you would use certain kinds of structures, like the *shi...de* construction[2] or the demonstratives, or what we were calling serial verb constructions[3] or the particles. With everything that we were looking at, we were interested in the kinds of meanings that it conveys and the sorts of communicative functions that the construction has. And I think that is what set this grammar apart from some of the earlier grammars. It is not to detract from those works, especially Chao's grammar,[4] which I think are very insightful. But what people have liked about our grammar, I think, was this emphasis on the functional side and the language-in-context side. And I think maybe that is why a lot of functional linguists have appreciated it and students of Chinese and teachers of Chinese have appreciated it, because we at least began to try to describe the relationship between the structures and their communicative functions. I think that was what was missing from the earlier works.

Huang: *What is the central tenet of this functionalist approach to Chinese?*

Thompson: Functionalism for Chinese is related to these questions of language—the view of language as a tool of human communication. Once you accept that view, then it seems that the central concern in trying to describe and explain linguistic form has to be in the context of this kind of function. So I think that is what all functionalists have in common. They view the relationship between grammar and communicative function as something very central. It is not to say that there cannot be grammaticization that takes on a life of its own, but the basic question has to always be: How do people use these structures to convey these communicative needs? And, the answers are far from simple. They are very complicated, but I think that is the thing all functionalists share in Chinese linguistics just as much as in all the rest of the areas of linguistics.

Another way of thinking about this question would be to contrast what functional linguistics is doing as opposed to some of the more formal approaches. I don't think it is necessary to make that explicit contrast, but maybe that would be a useful way to proceed. I think that the main thing that divides functional linguistics from other aspects of linguistics would be this emphasis on trying to understand language structure—phonological structure, or morphological or syntactic or discourse structure, from the point of view of communicative function. So functional linguistics would be any approach which is interested in the sorts of contexts in which language is used and trying to relate form and context. And, I think in the past, functional linguistics has tended to try to imagine the contexts, but I think more and more we are now coming to where we actually try to take language in its context and work with audio tapes or video tapes of real language interactions. That seems to me the best way to go about this. But all the functional endeavors, I think, have been aimed in this direction. So, it kind of suggests that language is not so much of a kind of formal puzzle or some kind of an autonomous capability that is separate from our social capabilities or our cognitive capabilities, but it actually emerges from those, and the very aspects of language that formalists want to call autonomous grammar are just those aspects that have become the most routinized, as far as I am concerned. So, if we have languages that have subject-verb agreement, and people say, "What's the function of subject-verb agreement?" I would say that *that* is a very important question and it is not one to be ignored. Functionalism would see something like subject-verb agreement in a language where it is automatic, as the "freezing in" of a discourse strategy. It is the *routinization* of a discourse strategy. If you understand grammar that way, then there cannot be any autonomous grammar.

So, to me, functionalism is pervasive. It is not possible to take an autonomous view of grammar, if you understand language as a tool of human communication. So to me the autonomous approach doesn't make any intellectual sense because of the need to recognize language as used by people to communicate their ideas, their feelings, their thoughts, their identities, and their hopes and goals and wishes. If we have pieces of grammar that appear to be autonomous, pieces of grammar that differ from one language to another, the question we have to ask is why. Why do those parts of the grammar get frozen in this language but not in that language? I think the answers have to be understood in the sense that we cannot totally make up new patterns every time we open our mouths. If so, we will never be able to cooperate as a society. So language has evolved as a way of routinizing some of these communicative habits. If it is seen that way, then it seems to me all the pieces of the puzzle fall into place. The things that some people want to call autonomous are not autonomous, they are just more deeply frozen in. But all of grammar is frozen discourse. And it seems to me that the freezing is at different layers or different degrees of profoundness. Those are some of the views that I have of functionalism, and I am continually checking with other functionalists in the field, and I feel that that is quite widespread. Maybe those are some of the ways of thinking about language that we are forced to by considering the data, by considering how people really are. Then you cannot pretend that it is something more like a crossword puzzle, or something kind of separate from the social creatures that we are. That is why functionalism is making big strides, going in these different directions—the cognitive direction, and the more social direction, to try to bring these strands together. In my own work, I am really interested in including the cognitive and the social sides, because I think they both have a lot to say that is very real and very important about the study of language.

Huang: *What is the background of the emergence of Chinese functionalism? When did it start and how?*

Thompson: I see a parallel between the development of Chinese functionalism and the development of functionalism in the rest of the field of linguistics. In the larger field of linguistics I have done some work on what functionalism is all about and has been about, and I think that functionalism really had two major inputs that I think have also been reflected in Chinese linguistics. One is the emphasis on universals and typology. So functionalists working in Chinese linguistics would be very interested in how Chinese fits in with the general typological claims that people are making. The other is the emphasis on discourse and pragmatics and attempting to see the structures of Chinese grammar in terms of these functional concerns. I think that the people who are working in Chinese linguistics are absolutely in tune with the rest of the field. That is why I think these developments are happening at the same time, because Chinese linguists are also general linguists and typically have had very general linguistic training. I would say in the last 30 years that has become very true, not being highly specialized sinologists, but being broadly trained linguists and bringing those general linguistic concepts into the study of Chinese. That is why I think the field of Chinese linguistics has been so much enriched in the last 30 years or so.

Huang: *What were the major issues at the beginning of Chinese functional studies? And, what are the new emphases in the '90s?*

Thompson: I would say that also parallels the trends in functionalism in general. I think at the beginning of Chinese functional studies, there was a big interest in the semantics and the pragmatics of individual constructions. There was a lot of interest in the *ba* construction[5] and what kinds of semantic and pragmatic constraints there were on the use of *ba*, and so forth. There was quite a lot of interest in that, and topic-comment constructions,[6] the so-called *shi...de* construction, relative clauses, serial verbs, and so forth. I think all this was very valuable and very useful. And now in the late '80s and in the '90s, I see, again paralleling the trends in general functional linguistics, Chinese linguistics is also taking on some new emphases. One of them is the cognitive emphasis, and the other one is the discourse emphasis. There is a major group of people following the work of James Tai who has tried to articulate some of the tenets of cognitive grammar for Chinese. I think that a number of us have been working in parallel on the discourse side. A lot of people have been really concentrating on written discourse, and at the same time a lot of people were working on spoken discourse, and trying to collect natural conversational data. Again, the developments in Chinese functionalism parallel what has been happening in functionalism in general. And again, it is not an accident, because the functionalists within Chinese linguistics are also general linguists. So the trends are going to be the same. Chinese linguistics used to be more, as I said, interested in certain constructions like the *ba* construction and so forth, but also very much interested in word order, which is still an issue. I think that was characteristic of some of the earlier work on universals and typology. Now I see people going in more radical directions and trying to talk about some new ideas in Chinese grammar, not so much the older emphasis on these construction types but on rethinking what Chinese grammar is from the cognitive point of view or from the discourse point of view. I find all of that very interesting.

As for the future, I think we are going to continue to see more work on cognitive grammar for Chinese, the implications of categorization, more work on the semantics of categorization, and things like the semantics of classifiers[7]--some of the kinds of issues that James Tai has brought up[8]. Also I predict more developments on the discourse side concerning issues like the differences between spoken and written Chinese. More work will be done using spoken data, interview data, TV data, talk show data, conversational data, and doctor-patient data to try to understand real conversational, interactional Chinese. I very much feel involved with that, because that is where some of my strong interests are right now. And that means that we are going to be looking at different aspects of Chinese. Different issues emerge when you are looking at conversational data. Among those are issues having to do with particles. I don't think we can ever really understand the so-called final particles until we can study real talk in interaction. I personally have been very much intrigued with applying concepts from conversation analysis into the study of spoken language, including Chinese. So I may be one of the proponents of that perspective, but there are a lot of other people working in this area looking at conversation from the point of view of intonation units, from the point of view of repairs, from the point of view the kinds of grammatical properties a conversational turn has. These are all new questions that no one would have been able to pose before we think about integrating some of the findings from conversation analysis with the findings from Chinese functional studies.

Huang: *I remember a recent article by you and Hongyin Tao which discusses backchanneling in Mandarin conversation.*[9]

Thompson: That's right. That is another aspect of the whole situation—backchanneling, or what we call reactive tokens. There is just a lot to do. People are interested in working on such things as, as I said, repair and repetition and how people backchannel. You just need data to try to understand this. So I think the emphasis is getting to be less on looking at preconceived structures in their contexts, but actually now looking at the structure of the interaction and saying what the implications are for grammar, and maybe we have to start thinking about grammar in a lot of new ways. That is at least my current thinking. I think some of the work that Hongyin Tao has been doing is starting in this direction in a very nice way, and also some recent work by Randy LaPolla that gets back to the issue of grammatical relations.[10]

Another trend happening in the '90s is more work being done on various Chinese languages, and I think that is a great trend. Some of it has to do with the fact that there is more recognition throughout the Chinese speaking world of some of the other so-called dialects or languages. So I am looking for more work to be done on Taiwanese and Hakka, and especially Cantonese, now that there are many more linguists working in these various parts of the Chinese speaking world. I see that as a very positive development, too.

Huang: *The issue of grammatical relations has been a major issue in Chinese grammar over the last 50 years. There seems to be a general consensus among Chinese functionalists that there are no grammatical relations in Chinese. Could you tell us your thinking on this issue?*

Thompson: I think my own thinking is emerging on this question. Following LaPolla (1990, 1992), I have been thinking that some of the traditional grammatical relations don't make much sense for, let's say, Mandarin because there doesn't seem to be any grammatical emphasis on certain kinds of NPs as opposed to certain other kinds of NPs, that is, the traditional subjects and objects or ergatives and absolutives. You just don't have that kind of grammatical coding. But recent studies that these three people have done--Hongyin Tao,[11] Shuanfan Huang, and Kawai Chui[12]--looked at conversations and narratives and quantitatively showed very clear patterns that you could find between the A and the S and the O in a given clause, if you think of A as being the traditional agent-like argument in a two-argument clause and the S as a single argument in a one-argument clause; the O would be the traditional patient-like argument in a two-argument clause. You see that there are very strong parallels that suggest a new type of grammatical relation. So, I would now probably take a position based on that research. I would not now say there are no grammatical relations, but that the grammatical relations are of a different type. And I think that the discourse data, the spoken language data and the quantitative methodology have made this very clear. So I like the direction of this kind of research; it's very empirical, it's very spoken language-based, and it's very quantitative. So the results are kind of striking; they are very very convincing.

Huang: *So you are saying that we should adopt a different point of view of grammatical relations for Mandarin?*

Thompson: That's right, and in general, the emphasis on spoken data is forcing us to take a different view of what grammar is. And that is what I am seeing with my studies for English as well—that when we look at conversation, we see that some of our older views of grammar have to be redone; they have to be revised. To me, that is very exciting, because grammar is happening as we talk. It is not thinking up sentences. It is looking at what people really do. And if you can see very clear patterns in what people do when they talk, then that is the most convincing thing, as far as I am concerned. In fact, Charles and I are hoping to write another volume for the Chinese Reference Grammar—maybe volume two, that would be a new look at Chinese grammar from the point of view of conversational data. It will be a while yet, but we feel that that is one of the things that was missing in the other book, and we would like to plan this project to try to make another volume coming out of these studies of discourse.

Huang: *It seems that resources of spoken, conversational data are very important for Chinese functional studies now. We need that kind of corpora . Is there any corpus available?*

Thompson: There are not any corpora yet, but I think that there is a group in Taiwan now working through the auspices of the Academia Sinica to establish a corpus. I think that that will be a start. If Charles and I are successful in obtaining funding for our project, we would then have the possibility of putting a corpus together, too, that would parallel our corpus of spoken American English that we are doing here in Santa Barbara. We would be able to have a unified on-line corpus of Chinese data. But I eventually would like to work together with the people in Taiwan, so we can get our resources together. So right now it is embryonic. I think everybody has a little bit of data, but it would be nice to have something uniform. At the same time, it takes a huge amount of administration to organize a corpus, and it takes more money than any of us has, so we have to live with those realities, too.

Huang: *Mandarin Chinese is quite striking in its general lack of morphological complexity. Since morphology gives us so few clues to the organization of grammar, does this pose a particular challenge with the study of Chinese grammar?*

Thompson: I think this is a really interesting question, this issue of morphological complexity. I would say for all of us, probably, working in Chinese linguistics, this has been one of the big puzzles, especially for many of us who are also trained in general linguistics, who see a lot of polysynthetic languages. We know that it is possible for grammars to express a large number of grammatical concepts through their morphology. So how is it that a language can get along with so few morphological categories—either nominal or verbal? I think that one of the answers in people's minds has been that there has to be a lot of inferencing. So on the one hand, it is a complicated kind of semantic question: How do people base inferences on these kinds of morphological categories or lack of morphological categories? But it is also an issue in grammaticization. So why is it that certain languages will grammaticize categories that Chinese never grammaticizes? And why is it that it is so consistent over the millennia? Why does Chinese never turn into a polysynthetic language? The genius of the language is this analytic tendency, and over time there isn't any inclination to grammaticize these kinds of concepts. From the point of view both of communicative inferencing and strategic issues and from the point of view of grammaticization, I think this is a very fascinating question. I wish I had more answers. Joan Bybee's theory is that it has to do with what is obligatory and what is not obligatory. I think that must be right. There are very few obligatory categories at the word level in Chinese. So I look forward to some more work on this, trying to zero in on this question. If we could compare the stories that Chinese language speakers would tell to those of Hebrew speakers or even speakers of more heavily morphological languages like Iroquoian or some of the other American Indian languages, we would get a better view of this idea of obligatoriness. Somehow these categories are left optional for Chinese and it is something that the Chinese languages all share. That to me is maybe a promising direction to go. It is not enough just to say Chinese speakers have to infer more. That cannot be enough. We want to understand why the structures in language work like this. So this comparative type of project seems to be one that we could think about doing.

Huang: *As you mentioned, comparative studies can be very revealing. In one of your recent articles, you compare the conversational use of reactive tokens in Mandarin, Japanese, and English. The results are really interesting and informative.*[13]

Thompson: Some of the work we have been doing here at Santa Barbara was facilitated by a grant that we got from the Office of Pacific Rim in the Office of the President, and that allowed us to compare some conversational strategies across languages. I think there is a huge amount we could do in that area, but what we chose to work on were two things: One was, as you noted, what we call the reactive tokens, like "backchanneling", where we found that American English and Tokyo Japanese and Northern Mandarin differ very very much in frequency and type of reactive token use. We found this very very interesting and worthy of further study. The second paper we expect to come out of that research is one that would compare particle usage in Mandarin and Japanese, where we know that both of these languages use utterance final particles, but we don't know whether semantically or pragmatically they are doing the same kinds of things. I think this is a very difficult topic. We have found that this idea of the prosodic unit that we call an Intonation Unit seems to be a good unit for defining the locus of the particles in both languages, so that seems promising, but how the particles interact with turn-taking or to what extent they express attitudes and moods, this is all yet to be worked out. That would be maybe the one big area that I look forward to some future research on. To me this is the hardest aspect of the study of Chinese, let's say, that is facing me right now, and I think it is true for any Chinese language, and it is true for any language that has particles—even more true for Southern Chinese languages like Yue dialects[14] and maybe Hmong and some of the other Southeast Asian languages—this tremendous use of particles, and I don't think we have a good handle on what they are doing. So that is another aspect of the comparative study. Another is some work that is being done now by colleagues at the University of Colorado, comparing the way in which the grammar of Japanese and the grammar of English deal with repair in conversation, and I find this also very revealing, because it is related to some of the canonical typological differences between English and Japanese. So, now I would like to work on repair and a comparison between Chinese and English, say, with regard to repair strategies. Other things that people have suggested have to do with repetition and the role of repetition, both as a backchannel strategy and as a kind of cohesive strategy. There are all different kinds of repetition, and I would love to see studies like that. But, overall, the big interest in comparative studies, I think, is that it goes beyond just the study of that individual language, so if we are Chinese linguists, we are interested in comparing Chinese and English, either because we want to be teaching one language to the other or because these are the languages we are fluent in and we are in a position to make a comparison. But I think comparing any two languages also has this very rich capability or potential for showing us the answer to this big question about why grammars are different. What is the range of ways in which languages can organize their grammars? So I find this a very fascinating issue, too. I think that we were lucky to get funding that would allow us to pursue this research on Chinese, Japanese, and English, but independent of funding considerations, I'd like to see a lot more of this kind of work being done, because I think it is just very very revealing and it has, of course, big implications for those of us that are involved, say for Chinese and English, that help us to understand our own bilingualism or our second language learners' problems and so forth.

Huang: *You have mentioned some promising areas in the studies of Chinese functionalism. Do you have further suggestions for future research?*

Thompson: In a way, what the future of the field is depends on the individuals who are working in the field and I think there are a wide range of interests. So, I can mainly talk about what seems fascinating to me and what I would like to be working on. Other people should follow their own interests. For me, the exciting thing is trying to expand our thinking about what grammar is, to try and break out of our traditional modes of understanding grammatical structures or grammatical constructions and so forth, and try to think about grammar in whatever new ways the study of conversation could lead us to. Even such things as what is a question, or what is an answer, where we tend to think about questions, in very structural terms, everyone knows what a question is, but to what extent do those structural questions show up in the places where we would say, "Aha, a question is being asked, and someone is giving an answer." They don't always match up one-to-one with the structural question. And there are people working on what counts as an answer, and so I am interested in that kind of issue and the way in which we can have a new understanding of grammatical relations by looking at the conversation and saying "Aha, we see patterns here." Let's not in advance go to the data and say "I'm going to look for subjects or objects or *ba* or adjectives or relative clauses," but let's look at the data and see what patterns emerge from the data. Right now that strikes me as being a very fascinating direction to go—to really try to sort of shed some of our old preconceptions. Some of our old preconceptions will be confirmed, but we need to be open to the possibility that we change our views on certain kinds of things that we may have been thinking about.

The other issue is the sorts of things that I think more old fashioned, functional or grammatical studies cannot get at. And that includes the study of things like particles and discourse markers. So there is a very interesting project now going on by Shuanfan Huang and Yung-O Biq at National Taiwan University comparing Taiwanese and Mandarin discourse markers—expressions like Mandarin *name* and English *y'know* and Mandarin *suoyi* and kinds of connective particles that are used in ways that we cannot even imagine if we just think of how we might talk. We have to look at how we really do talk. So, I see hopefully some solutions and those solutions are going to involve new ways of thinking about grammar, too—a whole restructuring of our views of what language is, what grammar can be. So I find that very exciting and something I'd like to look for in the future.

Huang: *Thank you very much for sharing with us your insightful view of Chinese functionalism.*

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

As pointed out by Prof. Thompson, it is important to go outside of our own language family in doing linguistic research. She revealed the fascination she experienced in studying the Chinese language and in doing research on Chinese. As a functionalist, she suggested that the central tenet of functional linguistics is to understand language structure from the point of view of communicative function and context. This emphasis also sets apart the Chinese Reference Grammar, written in collaboration with Charles Li, from other grammars.

In the discussion of the development of Chinese functionalism, Prof. Thompson pointed out the parallel developments of Chinese functionalism and general functionalism.[15] At the beginning of Chinese functionalism, studies emphasized universals and typology and focused on the semantics and pragmatics of individual constructions. The new trend in the '90s takes cognitive and discourse perspectives on Chinese grammar. There is a great interest in trying to understand conversational, interactional Chinese and in integrating the findings from conversation analysis with the findings from Chinese functional studies.

As traditional grammatical relations do not seem to be useful in a grammatical description of Chinese, Prof. Thompson suggested that grammatical relations of Chinese are of a different type, and that we should adopt a different view of grammatical relations for Chinese. As for the lack of morphological complexity in Chinese, she suggested that the question of how Chinese can get along with so few morphological categories may be answered by taking a closer look at the nature of communicative inferencing and grammaticization.

Chinese functionalism has been making great strides, and has been restructuring our traditional view of Chinese grammar. It is hoped that further research following this promising direction will continue to lead us to new ways of thinking about grammar.

NOTES

[1] Refer to Li & Thompson (1981). This book has also been translated into Mandarin Chinese. Refer also to Huang (1983).

[2] The *shi...de* construction is a sentence construction with a nominalization. It consists of a subject followed by the copula *shi* followed by a nominalization (Li & Thompson, 1981).

[3] The serial verb construction refers to "a sentence that contains two or more verb phrases or clauses juxtaposed without any marker indicating what the relationship is between them" (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 594).

[4] Refer to, for example, Chao (1968).

[5] In the *ba* construction, the direct object is placed immediately after *ba* and before the verb: S *ba* O V.

[6] Mandarin has been claimed to be a topic-prominent language (Li & Thompson, 1976, 1981).

[7] In Mandarin, a classifier is used before a noun when the noun is modified by a numeral, a demonstrative, or certain quantifiers. There are several dozen classifiers in Mandarin, and the choice of classifier is determined by the noun (Li & Thompson, 1981).

[8] Refer to Tai (1989).

[9] Refer to Tao & Thompson, (1991).

[10] Refer to LaPolla (1990, 1992).

[11] Refer to Tao (To appear).

[12] Refer to Huang & Chui (1994).

[13] Refer to Clancy, Thompson, Suzuki & Tao (To appear in *Journal of Pragmatics*).

14 Refer to Luke, K.K. (1990).

[15] For further discussion of the recent development of Chinese functionalism, refer to Biq, Tai & Thompson (To appear).

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Editor's note:

The following information has been brought to our attention. We hope language researchers working on Chinese and L1 acquisition research will find this information useful.

The Hong Kong Cantonese Child Language Corpus

This corpus consists of 170 Eten text files input in the internationally accepted CHILDES convention (cf. MacWhinney, B. & C. Snow [1985], Child Language Data Exchange System, *Journal of Child Language*, 12, 271-296). These text files are based on longitudinal observations and audio-recordings of conversations with 8 Cantonese-speaking children (aged 1 1/2 to 3). Each file, on average, consists of approximately 1500 lines (30 kilobytes).

The following software programs have been designed for this corpus:

(i) A text-search software, *Chinese Keyword in Context*.
(ii) A program to romanize Chinese texts according to any user-defined romanization convention.
(iii) A program to generate lists of vocabulary items with frequency measures on the tagged corpus files.
(iv) A program that creates a separate morphological tier under each string of morphemes so information about parts-of-speech can be added.

This corpus is scheduled to be released in September, 1995.

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A New Perspective on Women's Language in Japanese: An Interview with Sachiko Ide

Satomi Mishina
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PROFILE

Sachiko Ide is currently a professor in linguistics at Japan Women's University in Tokyo. After she completed her B.A. in English at Japan Women's University, she pursued her M.A. in Education at International Christian University in Tokyo, during which time she also studied at University of Wisconsin, Madison. From the very early days of her studies, she had a strong interest in the relationship between language and culture/society, and she was one of the very few researchers of her time who recognized the significance of the socio-cultural aspect of language. Her major research on linguistic politeness, women's language and Japanese evidentials and epistemological stance, much of which was supported by major grants, has been very innovative, and her publications have made a significant impact on academic and non-academic audiences alike. Thanks to her keen intuition about the value of examining language in real context coupled with her powerful leadership abilities, she is now a leading scholar in the field of pragmatics and sociolinguistics. Her contribution to the field through other professional activities is also outstanding: She is the Editor for *Multilingua* (Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication) and *Gengokenkyuu* (Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan). She is a member of the organizing committee for major linguistic associations including the Linguistic Society of Japan and the English Linguistic Society of Japan. And most importantly, she has inspired a very large number of young researchers to follow her and to further explore this exciting field.

IAL is delighted that Sachiko Ide agreed to spend time with us for this Special Issue to answer some highly relevant questions regarding women's language in Japanese. The interviewer, motivated by an issue in her own teaching experience, was genuinely eager to discuss this topic with Professor Ide. The interview was conducted at Japan Women's University on July 15th, 1994.

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INTRODUCTION

Japanese language marks male/female differences at different levels of grammar: morphology (e.g., *bikago* or the beautifying prefix *o-* attached to certain types of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs used more frequently by women than by men), sentence ending particles (men and women use sentence final particles differently), and the lexicon (e.g., first person pronouns: *boku* is used only by men). These differences in men's and women's speech are particularly salient in informal contexts. Therefore, as teachers of Japanese, when we introduce the informal speech style, we must point out the stylistic differences between male and female speech. This may sometimes cause problems, particularly among people influenced by the feminist movement who feel that for women to use a distinctively 'female' speech style is somehow degrading or an indication of women's status as lower than that of their male counterparts in Japanese society. Thus teachers of Japanese must deal with the questions: Is the male/female distinction in speech style a direct reflection of any type of social hierarchy in which women are necessarily lower than men? Does women's language in Japanese actually mark the lower status of women? Using this opportunity given by *IAL*, I would like to discuss these issues with Professor Ide, who is one of the most well known figures in the field of women's language in Japanese. My questions will center around how Japanese women's language emerged, how it functions in today's society, and the appropriate ways of teaching both the concepts and uses of such stylistic differences between men's speech and women's speech to students whose native language does not mark such sociocultural distinctions.

THE INTERVIEW

Mishina: *What has been the traditional view of women's language in the literature?*

Ide: I think the study of women's language in Japan has been conducted using two entirely different frameworks. One is the framework used by the *Kokugogakusha* (traditional Japanese linguists), who focus on women's language and the women's world as I discussed in the paper I presented at Berkeley, about *nyoobo kotoba* (the language of court ladies) or *yuujyo go* (the language of courtesans).[1] The common approach for these linguists is to describe the facts based on the literature, facts about women's language. The basic idea here is that women's language is *isoogo*,[2] similar to the specialized language of monks, or the language of *shokunin* (craftsman), and *toozoku* (robbers). Thus women's language as *isoogo* is one of the major topics among the *Kokugogaku*. It's a kind of philological study—their goal is to examine Japanese literature and what types of vocabulary were used for what, and then to do a detailed description, with a little analysis, of it. The other framework emerged after the impact of the women's liberation movement in the 1970s, and was influenced by Robin Lakoff's thesis on women's language, which claimed that women's language is a reflection of women's lower status in the society--that the lower or marginal status of women in the society is reflected in language, and by using a particular type of language, we, as women, are reinforcing our position as lower or subservient. Using this hypothesis, that is, 'the feminism hypothesis,' we started to investigate certain relevant aspects of the Japanese language, such as the words which describe women, how women speak differently from men, and so on. These are the two different frameworks.

Mishina: *So that means that Robin Lakoff introduced a kind of negative image of women's language?*

Ide: Yes. The year of 1964, when the civil rights movement started, that was the beginning of feminism and the idea of sexism. The late 1960s and the early 1970s was the time of raised awareness, a time for reconsidering everything about women in every field: law, economics, physiology, literature, political science, as well as language. And as a linguist, Robin was the strongest, the most influential person to establish this hypothesis. Her book begins with the famous sentence: "Language uses us as much as we use language." We use language, but by using the language we are at the same time used by the language and become the subservient person, putting the male in the center of the society. Anyway, the work I did in the 1970s was influenced by this second framework.

Mishina: *Now it seems that you have a different interpretation, a different theory of women's language. Could you explain that and what led you to this new perspective?*

Ide: I did use Robin's idea and applied her feminist theory to the Japanese language. I wrote many articles and presented many papers trying to raise people's consciousness about how women are put in a subservient position by the way they use language. However, my students at Japan Women's University were not moved by my works. So I started to wonder, and wondered for several years why I had not been able to influence my students as much as I had expected, until I realized that what I was trying to convince the students of was not entirely correct due to the following fact: Japanese women do not regard themselves as miserable or lower in status to the same degree that Western women do. Maybe this is because, from the structural point of view of our society, everybody knows that the mother has the power in the family.

Mishina: *Right. That's what I always think about when people talk about women's lower status in the society. Actually women do have power.*

Ide: Yes, in most Japanese families the mother is the person who controls the money and the daily affairs of life. Also from an internal, psychological point of view, women are not willing to give up all the good things about women, like putting on lipstick and looking nice, wearing skirts instead of jeans and Japanese women, to me, appear to be much more modest than the Western women in applying the feminist ideology to their own lives. They do not seem to seek the same status and power as men, but different roles which are not less favored. I learned this from my students by looking at what they are doing.

Well, I did not work on women's language for quite a long time, until several years ago when I encountered Michael Silverstein's work. His article, "Shifters, linguistic categories, and cultural description," opened my mind up to a new perspective. I realized that what I had believed to be the way to approach language was actually looking at only a part of how language functions. According to Silverstein, the tradition of Western linguistics was to focus on the function of *reference*. When you use the word 'tape recorder,' you *refer* to this device right here (pointing to the walkman). The word is the arbitrary sign to refer to this. But, Silverstein says this is just a part of the function of language, and he also deals with the *non-referential* functions. I was particularly interested in the *indexing* function, among the many non-referential functions. Indexing is to index who you are. This notion of indexicality will explain why the use of women's language is useful for any woman of any social class or any position or professional domain.

Miyako Inoue, who is working on her dissertation in anthropology about women's language, has done extensive fieldwork in Japanese corporations where the executives are women. Inoue examined the language of these women as well as that of lower status office ladies and compared the two: She found that the female executives in the higher position used more polite language than those of lower status. Thus empirical studies, actually many empirical studies, have shown that even women of high status use women's language or more polite language. This is contradictory to the traditional view of honorifics. For example, according to Brown and Gilman's "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity," the higher person has more power and the lower person has less power; people with less power use the V-form of the pronoun, which is actually the honorific form, while people with more power use the non-honorific form of pronouns, or the T-form. According to this principle, only if you are lower in status do you have to use a higher form, that is, a more polite form. Now if we apply this principle to the use of women's language, we would predict that since women are lower in status, they have to use the higher form for respect, to show the power difference. But in Japanese society, as we learned from Miyako Inoue's case study of the speech of high status working women, the higher status women use high forms. Since this is contradictory to Brown and Gilman, we have to re-examine the situation, and in order to do so, we need a broader perspective for looking at language; we must look at language as having more than just a referential function; I mean specifically that we must look at the *indexing function* of language. Women's language should be interpreted from the standpoint of these multiple functions; for a woman to use politer language than a man means that she is indexing herself as belonging to the female gender, in the same way as wearing pearls and jewelry shows her identity as a female by which she manifests grace or dignity. Language can be a means to manipulate one's image as a good, well-educated and sophisticated person, in order to be regarded by others as a reliable person. The use of higher forms of honorifics is primarily regarded as showing respect for the addressee or the referent, but it is important to realize that it also manifests the dignity of the speaker. If you pay attention to the notion of indexing...indexing yourself...who you are and in what social class you place yourself and what gender you belong to...if you focus on that type of function of the language, then you can explain the phenomenon: You want to show that you are a woman, and in order to do so you have to use high forms—that's just like wearing jewelry.

Ide: It is very difficult for many Westerners, particularly for Americans, to understand the use of honorifics because they lack the same concept of social hierarchy and how it affects the use of language. Since their egalitarian idealism is so strong and everybody is supposed to be equal, the language is supposed to be the same for everybody. So from the Western perspective it may be hard to understand this social hierarchy. However, the basic premise behind language use in Japan is that, according to the Japanese indigenous philosophy of wakimae, everybody is supposed to be different.[3] The society is supposed to be composed of different people, and different people are supposed to be doing things complementarily, and this is the basis for the Japanese family. The father's and mother's roles are supposed to be different. The mother's role and the grandmother's role are supposed to be different. And by everybody carrying out these roles and fulfilling their own realm of responsibility, the society works well. This is the basic idea. So we (women) do not aspire to become equal with or identical to men. We want to identify ourselves as female; we want to identify ourselves as higher status people, which does not mean having power, but rather that the higher person has his/her own identity and just as much responsibility and pain as the lower person. And everybody has to be complementary and care for each other. This is the basic idea. So, to be a woman is not considered to be negative as it may be in the United States.

Mishina: *I think your explanation really confirms my intuition about the language, and I assume that the majority of native speakers of Japanese would feel the same way. However, there could be some problems when you say "to play the woman's role"or "to index yourself as a woman", since some women do not want to do that; and they also have the freedom to choose not to pursue the* *social norm of 'women,' So one can say, "I don't wear jewelry, I don't like wearing skirts...just like I have the freedom to choose what to wear, I have the right to choose which speech style I want to use." Is this argument acceptable when that person is learning Japanese? How would you respond to such an opinion?*

Ide: If she wants to interact with Japanese people using Japanese, she should follow what we actually do. That's how people communicate in the society. It's like the air; this is what makes us feel comfortable. This is our social norm.

Mishina: *So if that person wants to learn a different culture and a different language, they would have to switch their way of thinking.*

Ide: If this explanation does not satisfy some people, let's think of other ways. The Japanese language is so deeply embedded in and connected with the culture. By 'culture' I mean the Japanese people's world view—what is right and what is wrong to them, and what they think are the appropriate ways of doing things.

This is all reflected in the language: the compulsory use of honorifics, and especially the use of the *-desu/-masu* forms and sentence final particles; self identification markers, such as first person pronouns (*ore/boku/watashi/watakushi* for men and *atashi/watashi/watakushi* for women, each of which differs in degree of formality), and second person pronouns (*omae/kimi/anata*) are reserved for male speakers and *kimi/anata* for female speakers, each of which differs in degree of formality as well as the gender of the addressee) and so forth. Additionally, we also have many speech formulas that must be used in particular contexts.[4] These formulaic expressions are much more abundant in our culture because we have the pattern of thinking which is what we call *kata-no-bunka* 'the culture of pattern.' Japanese people look at things in terms of patterns. That's our frame of mind. This is one of the characteristics of the Japanese culture which was formed during the Edo Period and is still somewhat prevalent in the contemporary Japanese society. So when foreigners learn Japanese, they must start looking at things the way Japanese people do. To learn a language is also to learn the different ways of looking at the world. If you say to the students "you have to deal with Japanese people in a Japanese way," the students will not be satisfied; but if you tell them that the Japanese language is tightly connected with the culture, and in order to master the language, they must also learn the culture or their language will sound awkward; then it will probably be more convincing.

Mishina: *In your Berkeley paper you mentioned that one of the possible origins of contemporary women's language—the language of the court ladies — was used "to signal their gentle appearance while holding virtual power"*[5] *meaning that they camouflaged the power they had in the royal family by making their words softer or rather child-like so that they would sound innocent. Now some people might say that the fact that women had to disguise their virtual power (while men could openly show their power without such consideration) reflects male dominance and that female speech is, therefore, a product of women's lower status. How would you respond to such an argument?*

Ide: This is a very good question and actually I am struggling with this issue. Maybe dominance by men did exist if we look at the society from a certain point of view, but that does not necessarily mean that women occupied a *lower* status. It would be more accurate to say that women had a *different* status. As long as we take the position that men and women are different in quality--women are softer and have the advantage of being more permissive, while men have their own ways of doing things—but equal in dignity and equal in dominance, then the argument that female speech is an outcome of women's lower status will be irrelevant.

Mishina: *Have there been any recent changes in the different styles for male and female speech?*

Ide: Yes, in fact, there has been an extensive shift in speech styles. For example, boys these days use *kashira* (sentence final particle that used to be used by girls), girls use *daze* (sentence final emphatic particle, traditionally used by boys), and so forth. This is true, especially among young people before they graduate from high school or college, that is, before they go into the "real world." Their speech styles can be almost identical. It can also be true even at the workplace, particularly among women who work in a certain domain, for example, if they are working at a computer office and doing the same kinds of things as men, both men and women speak the same way.

Mishina: *What are the motivations for adopting each other's speech styles?*

Ide: I think some people may have less of a need to identify themselves as male or female because they have the same roles. I think with the changes in society and the changes of women's roles in society, language is obviously changing as well. For example, women of my generation call their husbands *shujin* 'master' and speak to them in honorifics. But the younger generation talk to their husbands entirely without honorifics, and one of my acquaintances calls her husband by his first name. But, the interesting thing is that in front of her mother-in-law, she switches, and uses honorifics.

Mishina: *I think that is really important. Although the younger generation, in schools and among friends, may not use distinct registers or speech styles, when they grow up and have more opportunities to meet different people, interact in different contexts, and develop multiple roles in society, at least they would have to know how to switch (and the majority of the Japanese people do acquire the sensitive register-switching ability as they get older). I think that is important in Japanese society.*

Ide: Yes, absolutely.

Mishina: *So when we teach the different speech styles in a Japanese language class, it would be wrong and misleading to tell the students that the choice of which style to use is a personal one. It's not—it's a social choice.*

Ide: Yes. That's the crucial point and these are the arguments I have been making in my papers. In fact, based on a study I conducted with my colleagues concerning a comparison of polite expressions by Japanese and Americans, we concluded that in contrast with the Japanese, Americans' use of language is *volitional*, meaning that the speaker has more of an active choice of appropriate linguistic form and/or behavior. On the other hand, Japanese people's use of language, especially polite language, is based on *wakimae*, which contrasts with the notion of *volition* in the sense that the speaker is passive in language choice since the particular situational factors are set and the appropriate linguistic form and/or behavior is automatically decided; hence the speaker has little choice. The term *wakimae* is now beginning to be introduced in Western linguistics, like the latest work by Wolfgang U. Dressler (1994), as a key term to interpret Japanese pragmatics. What you have to be aware of is the very basic difference between the Western use of language and the Japanese use of language. One common misconception is that universally people use language in the same way, but that is not the case. In some languages the norm of pragmatics is talk, but in others the norm might be silence. When we compare Americans and Japanese in this regard, Japanese talk predominantly according to the socially expected norms; and that is *wakimae*. What is more important for the Japanese is to fit into a particular context, rather than the content of what one says. This is the crucial point. In sharp contrast, Americans think that what is said should be addressed to the interlocutor in a clear and explicit way so that the idea is communicated. So for Americans the direction is from you to the other. But the Japanese people first observe the context and then select out of all possibilities the most appropriate language forms on all levels--phonology, morphology, syntax, and speech formulae—and then speak in the appropriate way. Then you will be thought of as a "right" person, and if you give the "right" feeling to the addressee, your intention will be accepted. This is what makes speaking Japanese in context somewhat different from speaking English in the context of the U.S. So in order for any person to be accepted by the Japanese people while speaking in Japanese, you have to be able to sense the context and select the appropriate language forms. Of course, language is something you use as a tool to express your own ideas, but in Japanese there is also an emphasis on this process of fitting into the context. Then, from this perspective you can understand why women have to use the female markers—to identify ourselves as females when we are to play the role of a woman.

I am afraid that I have characterized Japanese pragmatics a bit too strongly in order to make a clear outline for the audience interested in Japanese. Of course, I admit that there are universal features in the language system and also in language use. However, the aspects of language which are embedded in cultural contexts cannot be overemphasized, especially when we think of cross-cultural communication.

Mishina: *Thank you so much for answering all my questions, and also for presenting us with your very interesting theory about women's language.*

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Prof. Ide's central claim here is that male/female speech style differences in Japanese have the function of *indexing* the social role of the speaker, and that identifying oneself as belonging to the male or female gender has no implication of a higher or lower status in society. She also pointed out that the use of female speech can be taken negatively in Western society, whereas this is clearly not the case in the Japanese language; and that this contrast can be explained by the different sociocultural values of the Japanese and the West. Western culture, particularly Americans, emphasizes the ideal of equality among all human beings, whereas Japanese culture is based on a vertical social hierarchy in which differences in social roles in such domains as class, profession, gender are natural and expected; with no difference in dignity among each domain. Another important claim was that the Japanese language is a highly contextualized language, where one has to have an acute sense of *wakimae,* in order for the language to fit appropriately into the context. Marking male/female differences is a significant factor in such a fine-tuned usage of the language. Regarding the teaching of the language, Prof. Ide suggested that teachers should emphasize the fact that the Japanese language is a direct reflection of the culture, and that to acquire the language one has to understand the culture behind it and take it as it is; or else his/her language will not sound appropriate to native speakers of Japanese. This implies that students need to be informed of the sociocultural values of the Japanese people that require the male/female distinction in the language, and this will help them adopt such distinction without any misconception which may arise from the ignorance of the target language culture.

There are significant implications from this analysis. First, the importance of an *emic* approach—to interpret the phenomena in a social group using *their* principles—to the understanding of a different culture and its language. It was shown that an *etic* approach, which assumes that both languages function in the same way (i.e., borrowing the framework used in the analysis of Western languages) could not account for the linguistic phenomena in Japanese. This leads to the second implication: Teachers of Japanese need to have a profound understanding of the culture behind all the language phenomena in Japanese, not biased by the knowledge of Western culture. Only when teachers know the language and the culture behind it, can they teach the language without creating prejudice towards the language in the learners. The understanding of women's language and the premises behind its use is crucial to teachers of Japanese in order to avoid misleading skepticism towards the Japanese language, culture, and people.

NOTES

[1] The language of the court ladies originated in the 14th century, and the language of the courtesans in the 17th century. The language of the court ladies spread among women of various social classes, since the language used by women in prestigious positions was considered to be the model by the women of lower status. Refer to Ide (1994) for a summary of the description of these two types of women's languages, the historical background of their emergence, and how they influenced women's language in modern Japanese.

[2] *Isoo* refers to the variety of language that identifies one's occupational role. It is a linguistic/pragmatic category unique to the Japanese language, partly sharing features with terms such as 'register' or 'dialect.' This linguistic category reflects the observation that Japanese people speak in different styles according to the groups they belong to, which are defined by categories such as region, profession, class, and gender. See Ide (1994) for further explanation of the term.

[3] The notion of *wakimae* (discernment) refers to the "social norms according to which people are expected to behave in order to be appropriate in the society they live in" (Ide, 1991, p. 298). This was introduced by Hill, Ide, Ikuta, and Ogino (1986) and Ide (1990) as a term to represent one aspect of linguistic politeness. The other type is called *volition* (Hill et al, 1986). This contrast is discussed in the latter part of this interview. For further explanation of the notion of *wakimae,* refer to Ide (1991).

[4] For example, *ojamashimasu* (said when entering someone else's house or room) and *itadakimasu* (said when starting to eat). The use of these fixed expressions are, according to Ide (1991), highly restricted to a particular context, and are one kind of linguistic form chosen according to *wakimae.* Therefore, the use is "intrinsically obligatory and situation bound" (p. 299).

[5] Ide (1994) refers to the crucial roles the court ladies played in the Imperial court: They were in charge of the bureaucratic tasks of controlling the accounting for the dynasty, overseeing the daily affairs, and so forth. They served as the transmitters of important

information from the Emperor to the public, and they were also entirely responsible for the education of the noble children.

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On the "Theory of Territory of Information": An Interview with Akio Kamio

Yumiko Kawanishi
University of California, Los Angeles

PROFILE

Akio Kamio is Professor of English linguistics at Dokkyo University, Japan. His academic interests have consistently been centered on language, although his B.A. from Keio University was in psychology. He later turned to the study of linguistics and received his M.A. from Tohoku University and his Ph.D. from Tsukuba University. His current research focus is twofold: One major project involves pragmatics and functional syntax; the other, a functional linguistic analysis of aphasic speech. His recent works include "Territory of information in English and Japanese, and psychological utterances" (Kamio, to appear), and *The Future of Functional Linguistics* (in preparation), which he is editing as a volume of a series whose editors are Susumu Kuno of Harvard University and Ellen Prince of the University of Pennsylvania..

INTRODUCTION

Akio Kamio closely examines the nature of information as it is communicated in human language in terms of "territoriality," and claims that the notion of "territory" plays a major role in the selection of particular grammatical constructions in Japanese, English, and Chinese. Professor Kamio's theory on the "territory of information" also has strong correlations with issues of evidentiality, politeness, and modality.

This interview was conducted to gain insights into how Professor Kamio's theory developed and what types of studies might be relevant for future studies of the "territory of information," especially since the English version of his book (Kamio, in preparation) has not yet been published.

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THE INTERVIEW

Kawanishi: *You have been developing the theory of territory of information for more than 15 years. What actually inspired you to study this topic?*

Kamio: As you may know, I majored in psychology. I was interested in the experiments for psychology in general. In particular, I was interested in the behavior of animals and in the research which investigates the behavior patterns of animals and their instincts. This area of research is called ethology. Ethology began in Europe and developed mainly from the 1930s to the 1950s. It spread to the U.S. and there have many very insightful studies on the instinctual or innate nature of the behavior patterns of many species. One of the major findings of this school of research is that almost all higher animals have territory. For example, a kind of fish called the stickleback has a very definite concept of territory. When it begins to mate, it usually establishes a certain area as its territory. No other fish is allowed to enter there. If some other fish does enter into that territory, then the stickleback attacks it. Only the female fish which is going to mate is allowed to enter. In the case of humans, we want to keep certain spaces around ourselves as our territory. I became very interested in territorial phenomena in general. One day, an idea occurred to me that there might be some reflections of the notion of territory in human language.

As you may know, in Japanese linguistics, there are several scholars who proposed the notion of territory in their studies. For example, the late Dr. Sakuma, in his work published in 1951, proposed the notion of territory. In his explanation, Dr. Sakuma referred to the domain of the demonstratives: *ko-* and *so-*.[1] Professor Shiro Hattori, in his 1968 work, proposed a very similar notion which he calls in Japanese *seiryoku han'i* which corresponds exactly to "territory" in English. There are several pioneering studies on the concept of territory in Japanese linguistics. As far as I know, however, every previous attempt was restricted to the lexical level or, at most, the phrasal level. I think my proposal is the first attempt to extend the notion of territory into the domain of the proposition or information expressed by a sentence or utterance. I found the phrase "territory of information" to be very suitable for what I was thinking about then. I should, however, add that the term "territory" in this sense has almost nothing to do with a physical territory, since it applies to propositional information.

I noticed the possibility of applying the ethological notion of territory to propositional information in Japanese. Take, for example, an utterance in the form of a declarative sentence which expresses information in a very clear and definite way, such as *Taroo wa byooki desu* 'Taroo is ill.' In contrast with this, there are expressions like *Taroo wa byooki deshoo* 'Taroo is probably ill,' *Taroo wa byooki rashii* 'Taroo seems to be ill,' or *Taroo wa byooki kamo shirenai*

'Taroo might be ill.' These latter three constructions express basically the same information as in the straight declarative sentence. However, the message is much more vague and/or much more indefinite. It was some time around 1976 or so, that I hit upon this idea that there are these two kinds of sentential forms, i.e., the direct (definite) form and the indirect (indefinite) form. This distinction seemed to corresponded to the notion of being inside or outside of a particular territory. This was the beginning of my study.

Kawanishi: *Please tell us about the development of this theory during the past 15 years. What were the major changes or differences from 1979 to now?*

Kamio: First of all, although almost 15 years have passed since my first paper, there were some periods in which I did not do any work on the territory of information. So, let me explain in chronological order. After publishing my 1979 paper, I was quite satisfied. I believed that I had achieved something. I could not think of any way to develop it further. I was also interested in formal syntax at the time. My interests were in both syntax and pragmatics so, in the interim, I wrote two or three papers on the phrase structures of Japanese noun phrases.

In the 1980s, I was given two years leave from Tsukuba University, where I was then teaching. I was invited to the Yenching Institute at Harvard University for two years as coordinate visiting researcher with Professor Susumu Kuno from August 1983. I still remember one moment very clearly. After about one month had passed, as I was talking with Susumu, he asked me to explain again the concept of territory of information. He seemed to be very impressed at that time and immediately encouraged me to develop the idea further, certain that I would be able to construct an entire linguistic theory based on the ideas expressed in my 1979 paper. I was very pleased, of course, and encouraged by his remarks.

Since I had time to conduct research and had no teaching obligation throughout the duration of this leave, I would be able to focus all of my attention on research. I began to reconsider the idea of territory of information. After about six months or so, I was able to build up the basis of this theory in which the notion of territory plays the crucial role, expanding my views on various phenomena and tying them together to build up a coherent, systematic theory, one by one and step by step. And then, in 1985, I was invited as a guest lecturer by Professor Akatsuka to present the outline of my theory of territory of information at the Japanese Language and Linguistics Conference, which was held that year at UCLA.

As you may know, professors of my generation in Japan usually do not have a doctoral degree. I did not have one either. Susumu also recommended that I pursue a Ph. D. degree by submitting a dissertation based on the theory of territory of information. I left Harvard in 1985, and had finished almost two thirds of my dissertation. In the process of writing and developing my theory, I discovered many interesting connections that the theory had with other, more general, ideas relating to theories in discourse analysis or functional linguistics. So, the scope of the dissertation gradually became bigger and bigger. After I came back to Japan in the fall of 1985, I needed two or three more months to finish my work and submitted the dissertation to my Ph.D. committee at Tsukuba University. There were a lot of formalities involved in the process, and it was in February 1987 that I got my doctor of literature degree from Tsukuba. My 1987 dissertation, which was actually written between 1984 and 1985, represents one stage in the development of my theory. Then several months after I got the degree, I noticed there were a number of inadequacies in some of the minor points or fine details in that work.

Around that time, Susumu strongly recommended that I publish the work in English in the United States. My doctoral dissertation was written in English, but I had made up my mind to first publish a book in Japanese, and after that, I would do an English version of it. I prepared the manuscript for the Japanese version between 1988 and 1989, and it was published in 1990.

It was after that that a major change in my theory occurred. My theory can now be divided into two. The first half is represented by my works before 1990. The other half, by my works after 1990. The real change has to do with my first conception of the territory of information as a two-valued notion, i.e., an all or nothing kind of thing; a given piece of information either falls into the territory of information of the speaker or not at all. According to this notion, the given piece of information has the value of one or zero. If it is valued at one then it falls into the speaker's territory. If valued at zero, then it falls outside of the speaker's territory.

When my 1990 book was published in Japanese, it was reviewed (in English) by Professor Takami of Tokyo Metropolitan University. Professor Takami suggested that the notion of territory might be multi-valued rather than part of a two-valued system. I began to think about this multi-valued notion for the territory of information, meaning that a given piece of information could fall very deeply into the speaker's territory, only shallowly into the speaker's territory, or the outside of the territory. In this way, a given piece of information can take any value between one and zero, for example. If the value is closer to one, the information is closer to the speaker. Susumu Kuno, when reading an earlier version of my 1994 article, pointed out the need to change the notion of the territory of information from a two-valued system to multi-valued one. It was he who first suggested this type of representation which appears in the 1994 paper as indicated below:

Table 1: Utterance Forms and Their Definitions

Case	Definition of case	Utterance form
A	1 = Speaker > Hearer = 0	direct form
B	n < Speaker ≤ Hearer = 1	direct *-ne* form[2]
BC	1 = Speaker > Hearer > n	*daroo* form[3]
CB	n ≤ Speaker < Hearer	*daroo* form
C	n > Speaker < Hearer = 1	indirect *-ne* form
D	n > Speaker = Hearer	indirect form

Kawanishi: *As you mention, your theory of territory of information has some correlation with issues of modality, evidentiality, and politeness. What is the interrelation of your theory to these fields?*

Kamio: I have a pretty definite idea about this. I think the relation can be explained by using a diagram (shown below in Figure 1). Half of the theory of territory of information overlaps with the theory of evidentiality. The other half of the theory overlaps with the theory of politeness. I think the larger framework, which includes many aspects of evidentiality, territory of information, and politeness, may be termed modality.

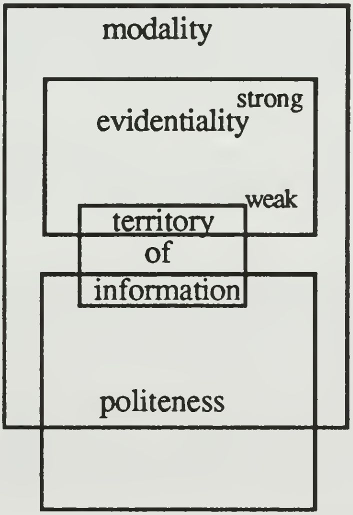

Figure 1: Relationship between evidentiality, politeness, modality, and territory of information.

What I want to claim by this diagram is that, first, politeness and evidentiality are two different sides of the same coin. The intermediary role between evidentiality and politeness is the theory of territory of information; all these are subsumed under the very broad term, modality.

Kawanishi: *Are you saying that politeness and evidentiality do not share any properties at all?*

Kamio: I don't think they share any properties. For example, suppose that you and I are talking in a hotel lobby, and your mother appears but you do not seem to notice her. In that situation, in order to let you know your mother had arrived, an utterance like "She is your mother," would be very strange. Instead, I would probably say something like "Isn't she your mother?." "She is your mother" is a very definite statement. On the other hand, "Isn't she your mother?" is much softer and more polite. The reason why you would need to use this form and not the more definite one in this situation, I assume, can be explained completely by my theory of territory of information. The first form is a direct form of a statement according to my theory and is used to make a very definite and clear declaration. In terms of evidentiality, you must have some very definite basis of evidence for using this construction. On the other hand, you need much less of an evidential basis for an indirect form. You may have some questions regarding the identity of the lady, or you may have only a vague memory of her. From the side of evidentiality, there are evidentially strong forms and weak forms. The strong form is impolite as in *She is your mother*, and the weak form is polite as in *Isn't she your mother?*. An evidentially very weak form is very close to a highly polite form. An evidentially strong form is impolite.

Kawanishi: *Where do you close the area of evidentiality and that of politeness in your diagram? Inside the modality boundary or does it extend to the outside? (refer to Figure 1)*

Kamio: That is a difficult question. But given that evidentiality is defined as how the speaker is involved in terms of evidential bases, evidentiality must be subsumed under modality. Evidentiality should be included in the modality box. Maybe politeness would go outside of the modality boundary because one side of politeness is very social. In that regard, it should belong to the area of sociolinguistics, which is not completely included in the domain of modality in the usual sense. I have just finished preparing the English manuscript of my book for publication in Europe. In that book, the diagram that is shown here as Figure 1 will be included.

Kawanishi: *Is this theory universal?*

Kamio: As far as I have investigated so far, my theory is basically universal. I recently read about Tuyuca, a language which is spoken in Columbia and Brazil. This language has a varied evidential system which seems to be very different from that of Japanese or English. However, it would appear that my theory applies even to Tuyuca.

There are only three languages which I have studied so far within my framework (i.e., Japanese, English, and Chinese). The results from these three languages clearly show that my theory is basically universal. While there are cross-language differences, these differences are strictly limited to very minor or fine points. The basic framework, though, is definitely universal.

Kawanishi: *This theory of territory of information reminds me of the Japanese concept of uchi and soto or 'in-group and out-group.' Is there any relation between your theory and this concept?*

Kamio: I believe that the concepts of *uchi* and *soto* themselves have a very strong relationship to my theory of territory of information. At least I am very seriously thinking about such a possibility. As native speakers of Japanese, you and I have a system of territory of information for Japanese in our heads. So other non-linguistic or other patterns of behavior may reflect such a linguistic system in our heads. I think the concept which underlies the notions of *uchi* and *soto* may be the theory of territory of information, and not the other way around. In order to demonstrate this, we need to carry out huge amounts of sociolinguistic and cultural linguistic studies. We have to keep our minds open and be prepared to accept any conclusion if it is well-substantiated. I do not want to be dogmatic, but one interesting point, at least to me, is that the basis of the notion of *uchi-soto* is the theory of territory of information or what underlies the theory, and not the other way around. More specifically, I believe that the fine details, not found in languages such as English, which underlie the theory of territory of information may determine the senses of *uchi* and *soto*.

Kawanishi: *In the case of Japanese, there are two verbs of giving, kureru and yaru (ageru). In order to use these verbs, the notion of uchi-soto is crucial. The speaker must distinguish whether the giver and the receiver are in-group members or not.*[4] *Are you saying that the use of these verbs can also be explained by your theory?*

Kamio: Yes. The basis of the theory of territory of information is now a linear psychological scale as shown in Figure 2 below. Basically this idea was proposed by Takami, who published his review of my 1990 book.

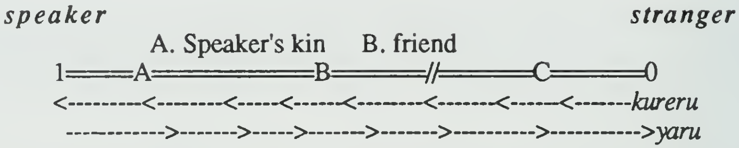

Figure 2: Takami's Analysis of *kureru/yaru* in terms of a Linear Psychological Scale

The maximum value is One and the minimum is Zero. If information falls at or near point (C), then the information is outside of the speaker's territory. If information falls at or near point (B), it falls into the speaker's territory but only shallowly. If it comes to point (A), then it falls into the speaker's territory deeply. Using this linear psychological scale, we can explain the behavior of *yaru* (*ageru*) or *kureru*. Suppose the speaker is at point One at the extreme left end of the scale and the speaker's very close kin is at point (A), a close friend at point (B), and a stranger at point Zero, the extreme right end of the scale. Suppose the kin is the speaker's daughter. Then a sentence like 'Stranger S gave money to my daughter' would be *S ga musume ni okane o kureta*. So if the giving is done from right to left on this scale, then it is expressed by the verb *kureru*. In the sentence 'My wife gave me money,' *kureru* is also used, *Tsuma ga watashi ni okane o kureta* because the direction is from right to left. Conversely, if the giving is carried out from left to right, then *yaru* (*ageru*) is used. So, 'I will give money to stranger S' would be *watashi wa S ni okane o yaru*. The sentence 'My friend gave money to a beggar' would be *watashi no tomodachi ga kojiki ni okane o yatta* and 'My daughter gave money to my friend' would be *watashi no musume ga tomodachi ni okane o yatta*.

Kawanishi: *How about the giving activity among in-group members? In the case of 'My daughter gives something to my wife,' yaru (ageru) is used. Is this because both referents are equally close to the speaker?*

Kamio: Yes. They are equally close to the speaker; that is why *kureru* is not used.

Kawanishi: *This is interesting and useful for teaching Japanese.*

Kawanishi: *Would you say that your theory of information focuses primarily on the referential function of language or do interpersonal factors come into play as well? In your original work, you had just a two-valued scale, indicating an 'all or nothing' type of situation. However, you have a multi-valued scale for your new paper (i.e., Kamio, 1994). In this one, you added the cases BC and CB which require either a deshoo or janai type of ending. Aren't these kinds of endings used for interactional purposes?*

Kamio: I would like to say that my theory concerns both aspects. On the one hand, my theory deals with information about something that happened somewhere by means of some instrument and so on. For example, 'X chased Y through the woods.' This kind of information clearly has to do with referential function. On the other hand, my theory also combines conditions that can be applied to the speaker and to the hearer. What kind of principle applies to the speaker or the hearer reflects the interpersonal character of the language. I think my theory has to do with both aspects of language.

Kawanishi: *I noticed that you mainly discuss the types of sentences which may be uttered at the beginning of a conversation, not the response to a question or a repetition, for example. When you have a headache, you are supposed to use the direct form in Japanese since that expresses the speaker's inner feeling, as in Atama ga itai 'I have a headache.' But if you wanted to repeat that since you feel that the hearer may not have heard or understood what you said, then, you would have to modify the ending by adding the quotative marker tte, as in Atama ga itai-n da tte ba or Atama ga itai tte ba to say something like 'I said I have a headache' or 'Don't you understand, I have a headache?' These latter cases which are not uttered at the beginning of a conversation have to do with interpersonal functions. However, it seems that you mainly consider the types of sentences which are uttered at the beginning of a conversation. Is this correct?*

Kamio: In the manuscript for the English book, I studied the territory of information in discourse. There are several findings about the discourse-related properties of territory of information. For example, one of my students, Takeshi Ito, noted that in discourse the formula defining the direct form (see Table 1) must be 1=Speaker>Hearer, rather than 1=Speaker>Hearer=0 as in Table 1. This is because in discourse the following type of adjacency pairs is quite natural.

A: *Kimi no imooto-san kekkon sita-n daroo?*
'Didn't your sister get married?'
B: *Ee, soo desu.*
'Yeah, that's true.'

In this exchange, B's utterance form is a direct form which abbreviates the utterance 'Yes, she got married.' Note here that A has considerable knowledge about B's sister. In fact, since A's utterance is in the *daroo* form, A must have the information within his territory (see the definition of Case CB in Table 1). Therefore, A's knowledge of the information cannot be assumed to be 0, as defined in Case A in Table 1. Observations like this suggest that the definition for a direct form must be 1=Speaker>Hearer, with 0 having to be removed from the specifications for the Hearer. Now I am willing to incorporate this kind of revision into my theory. So I think that the theory of territory of information may be concerned with discourse phenomena in general and that, considering this revision, my theory does not exclusively concern discourse initial phenomena.

Kawanishi: *In your theory, you listed those conditions which determine what information falls into whose territory (i.e., internal direct experience, information about expertise, external direct experience, and personal data). You said that the effects of the conditions are approximately equal, and that they can be combined with the effects of other conditions to produce a cumulative effect which is greater than that of any one condition alone (Kamio, 1994, pp. 85 & 91). Do these conditions follow any type of hierarchy? Are any of the conditions universal, or culturally unique? For example, internal direct experience might be universal, while personal information, especially regarding one's family might be culturally unique.*

Kamio: These are interesting and important questions. As for the existence of a hierarchy among the four conditions, I think that it is quite possible. For example, the first condition, which concerns internal direct experience, seems inherently strong and thus information subject to this condition tends to fall within the speaker's territory very strongly. But so far, I have not found any reasonable way of establishing a hierarchy like this within my theory. Thus, this is one of the tasks that we will have to face in the near future. Regarding the universality or culture-specific differences of the four conditions, I have already shown in my forthcoming paper (Kamio, to appear) that English and Japanese have basically the same conditions, but that there are differences in detail among the four conditions. And I have argued that a small difference in the conditions leads to two different pragmatic phenomena in the two languages.

Kawanishi: *Your analysis of the comparative study in English and Japanese sheds light on the discussion of the function of the sentential final particle ne. People tend to say that ne corresponds to either a tag question or a negative Yes/No Question in English. But, according to your theory this is not an accurate characterization.*

Kamio: From the definitions of various utterance forms such as those given in Table 1, we can derive the definition of obligatory and optional *ne*. Although it is too complex to talk about the actual process of the derivation here, we can characterize the two kinds of *ne* in terms of our notation. On the other hand, we have already obtained a table for English that corresponds to Table 1 here. We can thus characterize the properties of a Yes/No Question form and a tag question in terms of our notation. If we compare these two kinds of characterizations, then we find that they are not mutually incompatible, that is, the defining property of *ne* is not quite wrong. It is explained in detail in my book (Kamio, in preparation) how the characterization of *ne* can be derived and how the comparison referred to above can be made.

Kawanishi: *When one thinks about territory and how it applies to animals, one immediately thinks of it in terms of survival or protection. With respect to territory of information, what is it that is being protected?*

Kamio: The answer is definite. It is EGO. Since territories in general are considered to be extensions of ego, what lies at the center of territory is clearly ego. Thus, animals as well as humans construct a territory as a means of protecting what lies at the heart of them, that is, their ego.

Kawanishi: *Is that why this theory has a close relationship with politeness, such as face-threatening acts?*

Kamio: Yes. I think so.

Kawanishi: *Thank you very much for answering my questions and for providing us with your very interesting analysis on these territorial issues.*

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The theory of territory of information, which is considered to be universal as Professor Kamio claims, involves many aspects of human communication such as evidentiality, politeness, and modality. Also, Professor Kamio mentions that the study of territory of information is directly related to psychological notions such as ego, since it captures the basis of psychological distance as expressed in language.

Professor Kamio's theory of territory of information can apply to two different dimensions in Japanese: (1) in accounting for the choice of certain linguistic forms such as modals or sentence-final markers like *ne, daro(o),* or *jan(ai)*, and (2) relating to the broader concepts of cultural attitudes such as the notion of *uchi* and *soto*, or 'in-group and out-group' relationships.

As mentioned by Professor Kamio, further comparative studies should be done in order to clarify these differences in other languages. Although the notion of territory of information is considered to be universal, the factors which determine the status of information from language to language or from culture to culture may vary. The theory of territory of information, therefore, may prove to be a useful tool in intercultural communication as well as in analyzing the properties of how these concepts are treated within one particular language.

NOTES

[1] Japanese pronouns and demonstratives are marked by the prefixes *ko-*, *so-*, *a-* , and *do-*, which show the speaker's physical and/or psychological views on the referent. *Ko-* is used to refer to an item close to the speaker. *So-* is for an item close to the listener. *A-* is used when an item is far away from both the speaker and the listener. *Do-* is used to mark interrogative words. (cf. Maynard, 1990, among others)

[2] *-Ne* is a sentential final particle to mark shared knowledge/information. It is used to indicate the speaker's request for confirmation or agreement from the interlocutor (cf. Kamio, 1994 pp. 95-96; Makino & Tsutsui, 1990).

[3] *-Daroo* is an auxiliary indicating the speaker's conjecture. *-Daroo* expresses uncertainty since the speaker's conjecture is not based on any definite information or evidence (cf. Kamio, in preparation; Makino & Tsutsui, 1990; Maynard, 1990).

[4] *Kureru* should be used (1) when the receiver is the speaker him/herself, and (2) when the giver is an out-group member and the receiver is an in-group member of the speaker. On the other hand, *yaru* (*ageru*) should be used: (1) when the receiver is an out-group member, and (2) when both the giver and the receiver are in-group members.

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Conditionals and the Logic of Desirability: An Interview with Noriko Akatsuka

Patricia Mayes
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PROFILE

Noriko Akatsuka is Professor of Japanese Linguistics and Japanese language in the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures at the University of California, Los Angeles. After receiving her Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Illinois at Urbana in 1972, she taught at the Department of Linguistics at the University of Chicago, until she came to UCLA in 1981. At UCLA, Professor Akatsuka has played the primary role in establishing a unique graduate program in Japanese Linguistics using a functional/discourse orientation. She teaches Japanese linguistics and contrastive Japanese/Korean linguistics (with Dr. Sung-Ock Sohn) at the undergraduate and graduate levels, combining the aspects of both language and culture into her discussions and analyses. In addition, she teaches and supervises the elementary Japanese language program, which is the largest such program among the major research universities in the United States.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past 15 years, Professor Noriko Akatsuka has been exploring the connection between the speaker's state of mind (e.g., prior knowledge and attitude) and modality. In particular, she has focused on conditionals using data from several languages, primarily Japanese, Korean, and English. When asked, "Why conditionals?," Professor Akatsuka explains that, unlike researchers in the fields of philosophy and formal linguistics, her goal has been to employ the conditional construction as a tool to investigate other, more profound questions concerning the relationship between language and the human mind.

Mayes: *I understand that you've been working on conditionals for over 15 years. Could you discuss how you became interested in this topic and why it's important for linguistics.*

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Akatsuka: Yes. At the abstract level I could say I chose conditionals because I was interested in the following four questions:

1. What is linguistic pragmatics?
2. Is semantics independent of pragmatics?
3. Do human languages have the same sort of formal system as artificial languages?
4. Why and how is language a reflection of the human mind?

Though conditionals themselves are extremely fascinating, I chose to study them not for their own sake, but instead as a tool to be used in the investigation of these issues.

On a more personal level, in about 1974 or 1975, when I was starting out as an Assistant Professor at the Department of Linguistics at the University of Chicago, I sat in on a course in mathematical linguistics. At that time, many linguists were using symbolic logic to formally represent linguistic semantics--I mean "formally" in the sense of clearly and concisely. By sitting in on that class, I learned that the analysis of conditionals was traditionally regarded as the territory of mathematical logicians and philosophers rather than linguists. That amazed me. I also learned that many brilliant people had been trying to come up with some analysis of the logical meaning of conditionals for a long time, and yet there is still very little agreement about the semantics of conditionals.

I started to think that in Japanese, two- and three- year olds can understand conditional forms such as *sawaccha dame* 'don't touch it,' literally, 'if you touch it, it's not good.' Japanese children understand these types of utterances right away, so how could conditionals be so complicated? Then I realized that maybe the first premise of the philosophers is wrong—the premise that people try to represent the meaning of natural language conditionals using mathematical logic. In the domain of mathematics, there is no 'speaker,' no 'listener,' and no evolution of time. The notion of true and false in mathematical logic does not need the existence of people. If 2 + 2 is 4, 2 + 2 will always equal 4 even after every human being disappears from earth. It's an impersonal, eternal truth. I began to think that maybe conditionals belong to an entirely different domain—the domain where what counts is the speaker, the listener, and the progression of time.

Mayes: *I see.*

Akatsuka: Of course, initially this was only my gut feeling and for a long, long time I didn't really know how to go about substantiating those feelings. I also realized that the examples in logic textbooks are all in English, and that I should look at my own language. For example, in modern Japanese, the antecedent clause in *konya shujin ga kaette kitara tazunemashoo* 'If/When my husband comes back tonight, I'll ask him' can express either 'if' or 'when.' And in order to understand whether the meaning is a conditional or a temporal one, you have to consider what the speaker is thinking about with respect to her husband coming home, that is, whether it involves a certainty or an uncertainty. If it's just a regular business day, he would be expected to come back at the end of the day. But if he's out of town on business and the wife does not know whether he's coming tonight or tomorrow, the reading would be 'if.'

Mayes: *You're saying that philosophers and logicians never took context into account.*

Akatsuka: Yes, it basically comes down to that. In addition, the reason why conditionals were considered to be within the territory of philosophers and logicians is that since the ancient Greeks, the inquiry into 'truth' and how to find 'truth' through correct logical reasoning and correct argumentation had been a primary issue in Western academia. This focus on correct inference based on truth value was the reason why conditionals enjoyed such a prestigious position in philosophical inquiry.

Mayes: *So, since the philosophers focused more on truth value, each conditional utterance had to have a truth value as well.*

Akatsuka: Their main interest was to examine how similar 'if *p*, then *q*' of natural language was to the mathematical conditional, '$p \supset q$,' or how and where it differed. The crucial notions here are True (T) and False (F), and the evaluation of (T) or (F) in the 'if *p*, then *q*' structure. So, for example, look at the following classical truth table. If the value of both *p* and *q* are (T), then the evaluation of the whole proposition is also (T) as you can see in the first line. Likewise if the value of both *p* and *q* are (F), the evaluation of the whole proposition is (T) as you see in the last line:

Table 1: CLASSICAL TRUTH TABLE

p	q	$p \supset q$
True	**True**	**True**
True	False	False
False	True	True
False	**False**	**True**

This is one of the puzzles I faced at the very early stages of my work on conditionals in the late '70s and early '80s.[1] The puzzle involves a contrast of two conditionals. One example was a situation of a mother who was crying at her only daughter's funeral, saying: 'If only I hadn't given her the car keys, this accident wouldn't have happened.' According to the truth table analysis, 'if I hadn't given her the car keys' is F(alse), since she *did* give her the keys, and 'this accident wouldn't have happened' is also F(alse), since it actually did happen; thus the whole utterance is analyzed as T(rue). This corresponds to the fourth line of the classical truth table (i.e., F   F = T). Now compare this sentence with the following conditional: "If you are a policeman, I'm the Queen of China." What the speaker is saying is that you are clearly *not* a policeman. The truth value of the first clause is F, and of course I'm not the Queen of China, so that's F, but with the value of both *p* and *q* being F, the value of the whole proposition is T (i.e., F   F = T).

So now compare the first conditional with this one. Both are F   F = T, but the first one really expresses the speaker's deep sorrow and regret, while the second one shows the speaker's cynical attitude towards the previous speaker and implies, "I don't believe you. That's nonsense." The mental state of the speaker is totally different. What does the logical analysis of F F = T express about the semantic analysis of these two conditionals? It doesn't say anything about the semantics in that sense. Also, the truth-value approach cannot tell us anything about why the first conditional can start a conversation, but the second one cannot. The "if" clause of the second type of conditional is always a repetition of what the previous speaker has just asserted. It cannot originate in the speaker's own mind.

Mayes: *Are you saying that if you only focus on truth value then you miss this huge difference between these two types of sentences?*

Akatsuka: Yes. You can see that what is not accounted for is why the speaker has chosen to use this conditional sentence showing her deep sorrow in the first instance and in the second one, the speaker chose to use this conditional statement to indicate her cynical attitude with respect to the absurdity of the situation. The formula F   F = T doesn't say anything at all about these differences. This is what made me really decide to choose conditionals as my focus of study.

Mayes: *So your perspective is that rather than just this truth value of the proposition, there is more meaning conveyed in the speaker's attitude.*

Akatsuka: Yes, that's right. As I said earlier my study of conditionals has continued for the past 15 years, and I can divide this time into two, with the first half being an inquiry into epistemic modality and the second half, deontic modality, all in relation to conditionality. In epistemic modality, the best example would be perhaps my 1985 paper entitled, "Conditionals and the epistemic scale." There, the question which fascinated me is how language differentiates knowledge in the sense of internalized knowledge on the one hand, and information on the other. I was particularly fascinated by the fact that *surprise*, that is, the speaker's attitude towards newly learned information (i.e., "I didn't know that until now!") is often expressed by exactly the same grammatical form which normally expresses the speaker's doubt or uncertain attitude. This is especially clear in *nara* conditionals in Japanese and in the evidential system in Turkish. Also in every language that I know of there seems to be a strong resemblance between question and exclamation forms. If you compare the two utterances "Is she beautiful?" and "(Boy!) Is she beautiful!" you'll see that *surprise* expresses the speaker's strong endorsement of the truth of his message rather than uncertainty, and you might wonder why questions and exclamations can be expressed by nearly identical grammatical forms

Mayes: *If we subscribe to a static, truth-value oriented approach to semantics, it will be impossible to answer this question on a principled basis.*

Akatsuka: That's right. I began this particular paper with a quotation from Benveniste's (1971, p. 223) famous article, "Subjectivity in Language," which says "If LANGUAGE is, as they say, the instrument of communication, to what does it owe this property?" In my mind, my paper was a silent dedication to Benveniste. If you were to ask me to choose one linguist who inspired me the most and who continues to do so, the answer would definitely be Benveniste. I first read his book, *Problems in General Linguistics* (1971) around the same time I got seriously interested in conditionals. I was quite moved when he questioned the fact that people have equated language to a 'communicative tool,' and then asked the question that if it's simply a 'tool' how do we explain where all of these properties come from? If it's a tool or an instrument, you could throw it away and replace it with a new one. But in the case of language, there is no way to separate it from human beings. In Benveniste's words, "Language is in the nature of man, and he did not fabricate it" (pp. 223-224). He also said that the real nature of language only shows up in discourse—"Many notions in linguistics, perhaps even in psychology, will appear in a different light if one reestablishes them within the framework of discourse" (p. 230). Most importantly, he characterized the speaker as being the "subject" of consciousness. Reading this was really so good for me because just the definition—his way of looking at language and the speaker—made me really understand how modern Japanese conditionals work, for example. You have to look into the consciousness of the speaker to see whether the utterance is a conditional or a temporal. You have to know whether the speaker considers the issue at hand as being within the realm of certainty or uncertainty at the very moment of utterance.

Mayes: *That's really true.*

Akatsuka: There's another point I'd like to make along these lines. The notion of True and False is just one aspect of semantics. Granted, human beings are thinking and reasoning entities, but linguistic researchers must not forget that we are also feeling entities. When you look at it this way, I think it becomes clear that in the case of the first sentence (the mother's sorrow), in order to understand the semantics of that conditional sentence, you really need to look at the notions of DESIRABLE / UNDESIRABLE instead of TRUE / FALSE. So, "if I hadn't given her the car keys" is not a matter of true vs. false, but rather giving her the car keys is either a 'desirable' action or an 'undesirable' action. *Giving* her the car keys turned out to be a clearly undesirable thing; the desirable situation would have been *not giving* them to her.

Mayes: *Is this where deontic modality comes in? And rather than truth value, in your work would you say that we should look at conditionals in terms of DESIRABLE and UNDESIRABLE?*

Akatsuka: Yes, that's right. Let's look at my desirability table and compare it with the truth table.

Table 2: Akatsuka Desirability Table vs. Classical Truth Table

DESIRABILITY TABLE
(Akatsuka)

p	q	if p then q
Desirable	Desirable	Desirable
______	______	______
______	______	______
Undesirable	Undesirable	Undesirable

TRUTH TABLE
(classical logic)

p	q	$p \supset q$
True	True	True
True	False	False
False	True	True
False	False	True

You see, this desirability table is quite simple and it is a reflection of my belief that the natural logic working in our everyday reasoning is extremely simple. In many uses of conditionals, the logic is actually "Desirable leads to Desirable" and "Undesirable leads to Undesirable." The first type of conditional expresses the speaker's attitude, "THAT'S DESIRABLE, SO I WANT IT TO HAPPEN." Conversely, "undesirable leads to undesirable" conditionals express the speaker's attitude "THAT'S UNDESIRABLE, SO I DON'T WANT IT TO HAPPEN."

I first arrived at the desirability table hypothesis using made-up examples such as "if you eat my cookies, I'll whip you." For most of us who don't want to be whipped, a natural interpretation of this statement would be a threat, or it could be a genuine promise if the speaker knows that the listener enjoys being whipped. I have been testing my desirability hypothesis using spontaneous discourse data and a quantification method since the early '90s. The most dramatic findings from my recent joint research with Pat Clancy, of UCSB, and Susan Strauss, of UCLA, involve the types of conditionals used by parents to their children.[2] In this study we wanted to look at how Japanese, Korean, and

American parents use conditionals when talking to very young children and to analyze what kinds of conditionals they use. In other words, we asked ourselves questions like: what kind of input using conditionals are Japanese, Korean, and American children of one-, two-, and three- years of age exposed to? And could it really be the case that the conditional sentences children are hearing relate to issues of true vs. false, or is it more an issue of DESIRABLE (i.e., desirable-leads-to-desirable) or UNDESIRABLE (i.e., undesirable-leads-to-undesirable)? The data for our study consisted of a total of 84 hours of conversational discourse in Japanese, Korean, and American English, and for this particular paper, we analyzed only the speech of the adults. Since the children were very young (i.e., less than three years old) these conversations were particularly rich in deontic modality, including many speech acts such as permission, commands, and prohibitions.

It turned out that the two most common types of conditionals were what we called "predictive conditionals" and "future temporal conditionals" in all three languages, and we were amazed by the striking contrast between the speakers' attitudes expressed by these two types of conditionals. For all three languages, the majority of "predictive conditionals" were warnings or threats involving an undesirable antecedent leading to an undesirable consequent. One example from the mother's speech in the English data went something like this: "I'll give the baby to Donna if you're not nice." In this situation, the American child had dropped her doll on the floor. The mother then threatened to give the doll away if the child wasn't nice to it. As you can see, this is undesirable in both cases. The mother is unhappy about the child's 'not being nice,' which is undesirable to the mother, and giving the doll away to someone else is an undesirable situation to the child—so, undesirable leads to undesirable. One of the Japanese examples involved the child serving tea to guests and the mother says: *Yosomi siteruto koboshichau yo* 'If you are looking away, it'll spill.' Here again, 'If you are looking away' UNDESIRABLE-leads-to-UNDESIRABLE, 'it will spill.' We called these predictive conditionals since they involve some causally contingent relationship between the two states of affairs (i.e., the antecedent and consequent clauses). The mechanism seems very natural: Parents want to bring their children up in a safe environment and they also want to educate them to behave well. UNDESIRABLE-leads-to-UNDESIRABLE shows the parents' attitude toward the avoidance of bad things. I'm certain that the following conditional statement or some variation of it can be heard in many American homes with small children: "If you touch it, you'll get burnt," and the very same logic applies.

Mayes: *So it's highly motivated in this context.*

Akatsuka: Yes, that's right. Recall that we discovered the most striking attitudinal contrast between what we called the "predictive" type of conditionals that we just discussed and the "future temporal" conditionals. Future temporals are defined as involving a temporal rather than a causal contingency between a future antecedent and its consequent. We discovered that the majority of the future temporal conditionals in the three languages are promises, plans, and teaching, and these types of conditionals overwhelmingly reflect the logic of DESIRABLE-leads-to-DESIRABLE. For example, in the Japanese data, the Japanese child's older sister is at kindergarten and his mother says, *Yotchan mo oniichan ni nareba iku no ne* 'When you grow up, Yotchan, you will go [to kindergarten] too.' We also have a nice parallel example from the Korean data in which the Korean child expresses her desire to speak English. Here, the child's mother replies, *Khu-myen call halswuisse* 'When you grow up, you'll be able to speak well.' We all remember what an exciting thing it was to think about growing up when we were little.

In both Japanese and Korean, there is no morphological distinction between predictives and future temporals, although English differentiates the two with "if" and "when." In our data, then, future temporal conditionals present the future as something to look forward to. The logic of DESIRABLE-leads-to-DESIRABLE in future temporals directly reflects the parents' attitude—they are raising their children with a lot of love and hope and expectations for a happy future.

Don't you think that what we have discovered is not just limited to speakers of Japanese, Korean, and English and that there must be some universal elements as well? It is so natural to assume that under normal circumstances we human beings bring up our children with hope, and we expect them to grow up in safe and happy environments as good members of our society. This must mean that by the time they turn three, children of basically any society and language background will learn the logic of desirability, that is, DESIRABLE-leads-to-DESIRABLE and UNDESIRABLE-leads-to-UNDESIRABLE.

Mayes: *So you do think this is universal?*

Akatsuka: Yes. And to analyze the conditionals used by parents in terms of desirability really is cross-linguistic evidence in support of the idea that in order to understand the semantics of conditionals, you have to look into this desirability stance of the speaker and should not just consider the notions of true and false.

Mayes: *In your recent work, you've been examining the diachronic development of the Japanese conditional -tewa. What can you say about the value of adding this kind of diachronic analysis to any type of linguistic analysis?*

Akatsuka: This most recent study of *-tewa* really is so fascinating to me because when I started to look at the Japanese *-tewa* conditional, I didn't expect to go back to 11th century data, namely, the *Tale of Genji*. The most exciting thing is that this study provides a dynamic piece of evidence to support my desirability hypothesis and at the same time it highlights the relevance of the current theory of language change, such as Traugott's (1989) subjectification hypothesis, in understanding the synchronic phenomenon. Incidentally, this study started out as a by-product of my joint course with Sung-Ock Sohn, here at UCLA, "A Contrastive Study of Japanese and Korean" in 1993. Sung-Ock and I wanted to compare and contrast Japanese *-tewa* and Korean *-taka* conditionals, both of which are unique in that they are only used to express the speaker's prediction, UNDESIRABLE-leads-to-UNDESIRABLE, and the whole thing expresses the speaker's attitude, I DON'T WANT IT TO HAPPEN. Both *-tewa* and *-taka* conditionals are typically used to convey the speaker's warnings or prohibitions. So, the Japanese example, *Sonna kurai tokoro de hon o yondewa, me o waruku shimasu yo* 'If you read in such a dark place, you will ruin your eyes' will communicate the message, "don't read in such a dark place." To the best of my knowledge, we are the first to discuss the theoretical implication of the existence and development of such a conditional in literature. We named these structures negative conditionals because they only express the negative evaluative attitude of the speaker. It was clear to us from the very beginning that Japanese and Korean developed their respective negative conditionals quite independently from each other. At first I didn't know how to analyze the negative conditionality of *-tewa* and began to wonder where the meaning of UNDESIRABLE comes from. The form itself is the gerundive *-te* form plus the topic marker *wa*, and some people would even argue that *-tewa* is not a conditional marker. Then I thought that perhaps if I were to look at the historical development of this *-tewa* form, it might shed some light as to why this marker only expresses a negative attitude.

And then, I was incredibly lucky. I found an article written about 14 years ago as a Master's essay by Madoka Takamura, a Japanese graduate student of classical Japanese literature, which appeared in a very obscure journal in Japan. This article discussed the use of the *-te* conditional in the *Tale of Genji*. During the time of *Genji*, there was a regular conditional structure, the *-ba* conditional. However, instead of using the *-ba* conditional, Lady Murasaki (the author of the *Tale of Genji*) used the *-te* conditional for several special types of cases. Takamura realized that whenever the *-te* conditional was used, somehow the speaker was in a very sad mental state. Without Takamura's Master's essay, I really couldn't have done this analysis. But at the same time, there is a current hypothesis about language change, especially Elizabeth Traugott's (1989) subjectification hypothesis, which proposes that meanings start from an objective, propositional statement and then take on a textual cohesive function, like the word "while" in English. "While" started out as a noun meaning 'period' or 'duration,' as in "a short while." Then, the next stage, where the textual cohesive function is developed would be exemplified by "While Charles was sleeping I studied," in which "while" becomes like a conjunction, conjoining two states of affairs. The third meaning would be something like "While you have many good points, I still can't agree with you." It is this newest development of "while," indicating the speaker's stance right now in the discourse site, that Traugott characterizes as subjectification. The nominal meaning of 'period' or 'in a short while' has nothing to do with the speaker's personal stance. The meaning of 'while' changed from a noun to a cohesion marker, and finally shifted its relevance to the discourse site—right here, and expresses the subjective—the speaker's stance, what Traugott calls subjectification.

The *-tewa* or *-te* conditional could be looked at within this subjectification hypothesis from the point of view that *-te wa (te + Ha)* carries the negative or undesirable evaluation. Very simply stated, *-te* developed from the continuous form or the *renyookei* of the perfective auxiliary verb, *tsu*. It became the *-te* form like the current *-te* form in the fifth or sixth century, functioning to connect two states of affairs. At that time, there was no negative meaning associated with it; it was used in many ways just like the current functions of *-te* indicating cause, sequence, or simultaneity: *o me ni kakarete ureshii desu* 'I'm glad to meet you,' which is causal, or *uchi ni haitte, kutsu o nugimashita* 'When I entered the house, I took off my shoes,' which is sequential. All these meanings were already being carried by *-te* in the sixth or seventh centuries, but in the 11th century, we can see that in the cases where it was used to refer to future time, it is only used in a negative sense; the speaker doesn't want something to happen. So for example from the *Genji* data, a dying woman looking at her motherless grandchild weeps, knowing that she may die today or tomorrow, and says "What's going to happen after I die?" Other examples went something like this: "If I die at any moment, what kind of destitution awaits her?" And, in another scene, people are discussing the potential consequences of a beautiful girl who had a horrible suitor, someone like a *yakuza* (Japanese gang) member. These people, fearful of denying the girl to the suitor because of the severity of the reaction utter something like: "If we say no to that person, what kind of retaliation will he take upon us?" This *-te* conditional is used in these types of situations. And so my claim is that the *-tewa* conditional comes from this *-te* form.

What I'd like to say is that not only is this analysis of the *-tewa* conditional a clear example of Traugott's subjectification hypothesis, but also it supports my claim that this has developed into only this specific use as a conditional expressing something which is undesirable—conditionals are important devices for showing the speaker's stance. And notice that this negative conditional is very much like the "predictive" conditional we found in the adult speech to children.in Japanese, Korean, and English. It's really very similar. The speaker does not want this horrible thing to happen. It becomes all the more clear that if you just stick to True and False, those fascinating facts about language and people will never come to our attention.

Mayes: *Good evidence for what you're saying also can be seen in all those lexicalized constructions that occur now, like -tewa (cha) ikemasen 'don't do it,' for warnings and prohibitions.*

Akatsuka: Yes. Yes. Great. Great. That's something that I wanted to say also. This is really like the last stage in the grammaticization process, corresponding to the example I mentioned earlier, "While you have many good points, I still can't agree with you." At first sight, *-tewa* doesn't look like a conditional marker but it actually was and still is a conditional marker in Modern Japanese.

Mayes: *So -tewa is a classic example of grammaticization all the way through.*

Akatsuka: Yes, and specifically, it is a grammaticization of the speaker's particular attitude, UNDESIRABLE. I'm very happy about this research because thanks to this idea, I started to read the *Tale of Genji.* The *Tale of Genji* is the classic of classics in Japanese literature, and yet for a long time for me it was just a story of the prince's love history. But recently it has become something amazingly new. It's really psychological, and what is fascinating is that when you look at the *-te* conditional in the *Tale of Genji*, there is not a single example of a *-te* conditional used in an interactive way, as in the speech acts of warning and prohibition like 'If you read in such a dark place you'll ruin your eyes,' which actually typifies the usage of *-tewa* conditionals in Modern Japanese. In the *Tale of Genji*, *-te* conditionals were typically used in mental speech, predominantly when women were weeping internally or lamenting something. It was not at all discourse-interactive.

So I have learned that this dichotomy of diachrony and synchrony is really an artifact. In order to understand certain linguistic forms and think about why they work in one particular way and not in other ways, often you have to investigate the past history and see how that form came about.

Mayes: *For so long we had that dichotomy between synchrony and diachrony, but nowadays, well, slowly but surely, more and more researchers are taking into account historical issues, at least where they can. Maybe they can't always do the entire analysis themselves, but at least looking at some of the historical backgrounds will certainly shed a lot of light on the current usages. I think that grammaticization is a way of explaining how the two things fit together.*

Akatsuka: Yes, that's right. Especially in the case of polysemy; it's really fascinating that Traugott's theory is based on her observations on the history of English, because here we have a parallel situation in Japanese. In order to really understand *-tewa*, we need Traugott's dynamic theory of language change, namely, her "subjectification" hypothesis. Language is really dynamic.

Mayes: I *think that's the thing that comes through too. If you look at language from a diachronic point of view then you can't help but see it as dynamic.*

Akatsuka: Yes, it is. It is really fascinating.

CONCLUSION

In the past, linguists have tended to view language as an autonomous object to be studied and analyzed quite apart from the human beings who use it. The traditional analysis of conditionals as containing propositions that carry static truth values regardless of context is merely one example.

In the late '70s and early '80s with the advent of discourse analysis and functional approaches to linguistics, we have begun to take a more holistic and integrated view of language, attempting to explain it as a reflection of interactive and cognitive aspects of the human mind. Professor Akatsuka's work on conditionals is just one example of how far this approach can take us. She has shown that conditionals do not convey static, objective generalizations about the world; rather, they express the speaker's dynamic, subjective evaluation of what s/he knows about the world and how s/he feels about it, given the situation and context at the time of speaking.

In addition to research like Professor Akatsuka's that takes into account both the speaker and the context, recent developments in linguistics such as theories of grammaticization and language change promise to add even more evidence in support of a theory that views language as dynamic. In the future, we may expect to see an increasing number of analyses of diachronic and crosslinguistic discourse data (e.g., Akatsuka & Sohn, 1994; Akatsuka, forthcoming) which will ultimately provide a comprehensive theory of language as it reflects the human mind.

NOTES

[1] See Akatsuka (1983).

[2] See Clancy, Akatsuka, and Strauss (forthcoming).

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A Korean Grammar on Semantic-Pragmatic Principles by Keedong Lee. Seoul: Hankwuk Munhwasa (Korea Press), 1993. 565 pp.

Reviewed by Sung-Ock S. Sohn
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A Korean Grammar on Semantic-Pragmatic Principles is designed essentially for advanced students of Korean who would like an in-depth semantic-pragmatic account of Korean grammar beyond the level offered by Korean textbooks. However, this book will also be helpful for general readers who are interested in learning about the Korean language as well as for Korean linguists and language teachers since the author discusses a wide range of Korean grammatical structures in a simple and concise writing style. Until recently, no grammar book has been available in English for non-native speakers of Korean,[1] which has made the teaching and learning of Korean in the United States very difficult, especially in view of its relatively short history as a foreign language taught in the U.S., compared to other East Asian languages such as Japanese and Chinese. In this regard, this book is a pioneering work and Keedong Lee succeeds in accomplishing his goal for this book to serve as a guide for both learning and teaching Korean as a foreign language, although some of the terminology and concepts may be beyond the level of its intended audience.

The strength of this book lies in its discourse-pragmatic account of comprehensive Korean data involving verbal suffixes and particles which are essential in Korean for interactive communication since they express the speaker's various attitudes toward propositional content and toward the interlocutors. In contrast with the formal and syntactic approaches, which often provide an insufficient account of these grammatical items for linguists who view language as an instrument of communication, the author, with his deep knowledge of psycholinguistics, case grammar, and discourse-semantics, explores Korean from the perspective that language can only be understood in the context of communication. In fact, many grammatical constructions previously treated in-depth by formal syntacticians are discussed in this book in terms of their communicative functions and in the light of discourse-pragmatics. In particular, using this discourse-pragmatic approach, in which the consideration of context is extremely important, the author attempts to elucidate distinctions in the usages of various forms which are regarded as merely synonymous by traditional Korean grammarians—distinctions such as pre-verbal negation with *an* and postverbal negation with *-ci anh*. In this type of instance, context is crucial in order to determine the preference and motivations for using one form over the other in actual discourse. This is a useful tool for students learning Korean as a

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foreign language, since most textbooks fail to provide these types of context-based contrastive accounts for grammatical forms which have seemingly similar functions.

The analyses and conception of grammar in this book are fundamentally based on the cognitive approaches proposed by Bolinger (1977), Langacker (1978), and Givón (1979). Underlying these approaches is the idea that successful communication is possible when the speaker is able to constantly assess what is in his/her mind and in the mind of his/her interlocutor. The author argues from the perspective that grammatical forms reflect these aspects of verbal communication. Thus, the various grammatical constructions in this book are explained in terms of the participants and their consciousness in a speech situation.

The book consists of nine chapters: Sentence-enders, Postpositions, Particles, Auxiliary Verbs, Passives, Negation, Nominalization, Tense-Aspect-Modality, and Verbal Connectives. Chapter One discusses sentence-enders in Korean such as *-ta* (declarative marker), *-tela* (noncommittal), *-kwuna*, *-ney*, etc. While these morphemes were traditionally analyzed in terms of speech levels and sentence-types, the author proposes discourse-pragmatic and cognitive principles which focus on the speaker's attitude toward the proposition and his/her assessment of the interlocutors. For example, the difference between the epistemic suffixes *-kwuna* and *-ney* is analyzed here in terms of the speaker's assessment of the information (e.g., unexpected discovery vs. contrary to expectation). Both sentence-enders denote the speaker's surprise at the discovery of some state of affairs; however, the source of the surprise is different: *-Kwuna* is used when the speaker discovers an unexpected situation, and *-ney* is used when the speaker is already aware of the situation, but later discovers something contrary to his expectation. This distinction can be illustrated by the following examples:

> *Chelswu-ka wa-ss-ney*
> 'Chelswu has come!'
>
> *Chelswu-ka wa-ss-kwuna*
> 'Chelswu has come!"

In the *-ney* marked utterance, the speaker believed that Chelswu was not present, but then, contrary to his own expectation, discovered some evidence that Chelswu had indeed arrived. In contrast, in the *-kwuna* marked utterance, the speaker has no preconceived belief with respect to Chelswu's presence, and then sees some evidence pointing to Chelswu's arrival (e.g., Chelswu's car in the driveway). This approach is in line with cross-linguistic studies on evidential categories. Recent research on evidentiality has revealed that human cognition is sensitive to the distinction between what the speaker already knows from past experience and what information the speaker has just learned or perceived (cf.

Akatsuka, 1985; Lee,1991).

Chapter Two, a relatively short chapter, discusses the semantic function of the postpositions *-ey* and *-eyse* (locatives), *-eykey* (dative), and *-ulo* (instrumental). The distinction between *-ey* and *-eyse* which often causes confusion for English speakers is explained in light of the figure-ground contrast (Givón, 1978). Specifically, while *-ey* relates two entities in a figure-ground relation, *-eyse* denotes the general background for a situation. In the figure-ground contrast, the figure is smaller, weaker, nearer, and clearer than the ground. Also, the figure tends to be mobile, whereas the ground tends to be static as in the following illustration: *emeni-ka naympi-ey/*-eyse pap-ul cis-nun-ta* 'Mother cooks rice in the pot' vs. *emeni-ka pwuek *-ey/-eyse pap-ul cis-nun-ta* 'Mother cooks rice in the kitchen'

Chapter Three deals with various particles (e.g., *-cocha* 'even', *-lato* 'or', *-man* 'only,' etc.) which reflect the speaker's attitude toward the propositional content. While most Korean textbooks do not provide a contrastive analysis for particles with apparently similar functions, the author compares and contrasts these types of particles whenever possible. For instance, the author shows that the particle *-lato* 'or,' used in expressing a choice of something, stands in contrast with the particle *-(i)na* in that *-lato* is not appropriate when the primary choice item is not available and multiple second-best choices exist. This can be illustrated by the following example:

A: *maykcwu cwu-sey yo*
'I'll have a beer'
B: *maykcwu-nun ops-ko kholla-hako cengcong-man iss-eyo*
'We don't have beer. We only have cola and sake'
A: *kulem, cengcong (i)na cwu-sey-yo*
'Then, I'll take sake'

In a case such as this, when multiple second-best choices are available, *-(i)na* would be the appropriate particle.

Chapter Four, 'Auxiliary Verbs,' examines the semantic expansion from prototypical to figurative meanings of the various verbs. This chapter is the highlight of the book. There are many verbal constructions in Korean in which auxiliary verbs may follow main verbs in a syntactic sequence. Semantically, these auxiliary verbs are very unique in that their original meanings as lexical verbs are figuratively extended or completely modified in their uses as auxiliary verbs. The author examines what aspects of the prototypical meaning of the original lexical verb are expressed in the auxiliary verb by discussing twelve of these auxiliary verbs: *cita* 'to become,' *cwuta* 'to give,' *hata* 'to do,' *issta* 'to be,' *nayta* 'to take out,' *nohta* 'to put,' *ota* 'to come,' *pelita* 'to throw away,' *pota* 'to see,' *ssahta* 'to pile,' *tayta* 'to hold, to put,' and *twuta* 'to put; to leave.'

The semantic shift from the meaning of the main verb to that of an auxiliary verb can be explained in terms of grammaticalization theory (cf. Traugott, 1989), although the author did not discuss this in his book. Specifically, according to the theory of grammaticalization or 'subjectification' (Traugott, 1989; Akatsuka & Sohn, 1994), the semantic change follows a unidirectional path, shifting from a concrete meaning to an abstract one; and also involves a shift in function from a propositional one (i.e., expressing propositional content) to an interactional one and finally to the expression of the speaker's subjective attitude. For instance, the verb *pelita* 'to throw away' is used both as a lexical verb and as an auxiliary verb. As an auxiliary, *pelita* expresses two major substances—the speaker's relief and/or the speaker's regret. These meanings are derived from the original meaning of the lexical verb 'to throw away,' whereby the speaker's subjective evaluation toward the propositional content has been strengthened.[2]

Chapter Five examines passive constructions. There are two types of passive constructions in Korean: One is expressed by a verbal infix (i.e., *-i, -hi, -li,* and *-ki*) and the other, by the auxiliary verb *cita* 'to become.' The author compares these two types of passives in terms of spontaneous vs. non-spontaneous processes. Specifically, the infix passives are used to denote a spontaneous process and the *cita* passive, a non-spontaneous process, which the following pair of examples illustrates: *haswukwu-ka mak-hi-ess-ta* (infix *hi*) 'The drain is clogged.' (a spontaneous, accidental, and unintentional occurrence) vs. *haswukwu-ka maka-ci-ess-ta* (with *cita*) 'The drain is clogged' (the process was an intended one).

Chapter Six, 'Negation,' discusses the difference between two types of negation in Korean--short-form (*anh*) and long-form (*-ci anh-*) negation. Traditionally, these two forms were considered to be synonymous. However, the author illustrates various cases in which the two forms are not interchangeable. This analysis demonstrates that the long-form negation involves more semantic and pragmatic presupposition given that it is commonly used to deny a statement or opinion of the interlocutor.

Chapter Seven, 'Nominalization' examines the cognitive meaning of the two nominalizers*-ki* and*-um*, which have been a popular topic for formal syntacticians, and which is, as the author states in the preface of this book, inadequately described in all existing Korean textbooks. It is analyzed that the *-ki* nominalizer reflects a temporal category, whereas *-um* indicates an abstract category (cf. Givón, 1979).[3] Hence, in the following example, *-ki*, and not *-um*, would be the appropriate nominalizer: *na-nun ku-ka o-ki/*-um-ul kitali-n-ta* 'I wait for him to come.'

Chapter Eight analyzes the Korean tense-aspect-modality system from the perspective that each grammatical morpheme has one basic prototypical meaning from which inferential meanings can be derived (cf. Langacker, 1978). This approach is illustrated in the analysis of the modal marker *-keyss*. Traditionally *-keyss* was treated as a single morpheme, but in this book it is analyzed as a combination of three morphemes: *kes* 'fact' + *i* 'be' + *-ess* (remote tense).

Though insightful, this analysis poses a problem in that it conflicts with the argument presented in Huh (1984) and H. Sohn (1994b) that *-keyss* has been derived historically from the causative construction *-key ha-* followed by the past marker *-ess* through syntactic restructuring and phonological reduction.

The final chapter, 'Verbal Connectives,' discusses the function of various subordinate clause markers in Korean from a discourse-pragmatic perspective. The connective *-ni/-nikka* 'because' or 'when' is compared and contrasted with a similar connective *-ese*. According to the author, *-ese* is used when the relationship between two events is definite and well-established; *-nikka* is used when the speaker is not sure about the relationship and only suspects a tentative one. While this comparison provides us with some important semantic features of the two forms, S. Sohn (1992) further elaborates the differences between them in terms of speaker-oriented (*-nikka*) vs. hearer-oriented (*-ese*) causality.

While insightful and revealing, the findings in this book could be further elaborated through the analysis of actual discourse and interactional data. All of the examples presented are invented with particular contexts in mind. A semantic-pragmatic account for the various grammatical forms could be more clearly elucidated through the examination of spontaneous interactional discourse (cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). In addition, a more coherent thematic and methodological relationship among the different chapters would make the book more cohesively unified and better organized.

Although this book is somewhat limited in that it lacks a concrete theoretical framework with which to account for many of the syntactic analyses, it contributes to the existing literature by providing an immensely useful description of Korean grammar. It is also an especially great contribution to the teaching and learning of Korean as a foreign language.

NOTES

[1] H. Sohn (1994a) is an excellent comprehensive reference for Korean grammar including syntax, morphology, and phonology.

[2] Strauss (1994, to appear) compares and contrasts Korean *-a/e pelita* with a similar Japanese construction, *-te shimau*.

[3] The distinction between the temporal and abstract category is based on Givón (1979, pp. 314-316). Givón classifies the semantic features of the noun universe into 'concerete,' 'temporal,' and 'abstract.' The implicational relations between the three are as follows:

Concrete		**Temporal**		**Abstract**
exist in space	>	exist in time	>	exist

The implicational hierarchy indicates that what exists in space must perforce also exist in time, but not vice versa. Also, the *-ki* nominalization corresponds to what Lyons (1977) calls the second-order nominals, and *-um* nominalization to what he calls the third-order entities.

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Korean by Ho-min Sohn. London and New York: Routledge, 1994. xvii, 584 pp. Descriptive Grammars.

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Korean is a descriptive grammar book for language teachers, students, and scholars of Korean linguistics. Since *Korean* is a comprehensive reference book which provides a broad and detailed description of the structure of the language in a theory-neutral manner, it is useful to Korean linguists of any theoretical orientation, while still extremely accessible to students studying the language beyond the elementary level.

Korean is one of a series of *Descriptive Grammars* edited by Bernard Comrie, and follows the basic framework of the *Questionnaire*[1] designed by Comrie and Smith (1977) as a detailed guide for cross-linguistic analyses. Thus, all of the descriptive grammars of the series (e.g., Gulf Arabic, Finnish, Tamil, Japanese) have identical or near identical chapter headings, sub-headings, and sub-sub-headings. Chapter headings are arranged in the following order: Chapter 1, Syntax; Chapter 2, Morphology; Chapter 3, Phonology; Chapter 4, Ideophones and Interjections; and Chapter 5, Lexicon. Given that the framework was set up for linguists to compare languages, I would also like to review this book by comparing it with another in the series, *Japanese* by John Hinds (1986). I chose these two books since both languages are hypothesized to belong to the Altaic language family as pointed out by both H. Sohn (1994, p. 1) and Hinds (1986, p. v). Students or scholars interested in both languages could use these two books as a departure point for comparative studies in almost any area of linguistics, from tense and aspect studies to interjections and socio-linguistics.

Korean was published in 1994, eight years following the publication of *Japanese*, and, therefore includes developments in terms of the series format (cf. Martin, 1988). In the more recent *Korean*, an editorial statement is provided by Comrie which summarizes the purpose and background of the *Descriptive Language Series.* Also, H. Sohn has added a very useful index and the table of contents seems to be more detailed than that of *Japanese,* so that now particular linguistic topics are more readily searchable. Perhaps the addition of an index of Korean expressions and constructions would make this an even more useful reference book, since there is no way to locate specific grammatical forms in Korean. For example, if one were searching for the possible sentence structures or contexts in which *ci(yo)* (an interactional particle) is used, one would virtually have to guess under which sub-section it would appear and begin the search from

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there.

Chapters 1 and 2 contain the two main areas of focus, comprising a full two thirds of the book. One of the interesting points in Chapter 1 is the discussion of the phenomenon of "*(ko) ha* deletion," under "Direct speech and quoted speech." It would be helpful if there were some additional discussion about the motivations behind this deletion, such as whether it is socio-culturally conditioned. Current views on this phenomenon seem to vary somewhat. S. Sohn (1994) analyzes the deletion of the verb *ha* at sentence final position indicating that its omission brings about a new meaning, subjectification (cf. Traugott, 1989), suggesting that the quotative marker *ko* without *ha* is 'highly charged with the speaker's affect or a way to increase the strength of the speaker's assertion (i.e., 'reinforcement'). According to S. Sohn, the deletion of the reporting verb *ha* at sentence final position creates a new grammatical category, i.e., sentence-final particle. H. Sohn points out that the deletion of *ha* acts as a softening mechanism.

The nature of emphasis is also discussed in Chapter 1. In comparing both *Japanese* and *Korean,* it is noted that emphasis is achieved by means of the following strategies: 1) repetition, 2) the addition of a variety of "uptoners" (Sohn, 1994, p. 180), such as particles, auxiliaries (e.g., *-te shimau* for Japanese or *-a/-e pelita* for Korean, both of which can serve as intensifiers of main verbs), or adverbs (e.g., *zenzen* (J) or *cenhye* (K) 'not at all'), or 3) the use of suprasegmental devices, such as changes in voice quality, vowel lengthening, etc. Under the same section, *Korean* points out that the notions of 'new' or 'given' information are often significant in affording topic prominence (p. 182), which is also operative in Japanese, but not mentioned in this section in Hinds (1986).

Chapter 2, Morphology, is the second main focus of this book. This chapter deals with inflectional and derivational morphology. Under inflection, verb morphology such as tense, aspect, and mood are examined. As noted in both *Korean* and *Japanese,* both languages have a verbal suffix slot which is relevant to both tense and aspect. When this slot is filled with the past tense suffix, *-ess* for Korean and *-ta* for Japanese, it typically expresses simple past or present perfect aspect. When the slot has a ZERO marking in Korean or *-ru* in Japanese, it expresses non-past. What is interesting is that in the case of Korean, this slot may be filled with two past tense suffixes (i.e., *-ess-ess*) to denote the pluperfect. In Japanese, the pluperfect is formed by the combination of such features as the main verb plus verbal gerundive *-te* plus the completive auxiliary *shimau* plus auxiliary verb *iru* as in *moo tabete shimatte ita*, 'I had already eaten,' but never by a double past marking, as in Korean.

In the aspect section, one could find more possibilities for comparative studies such as the various grammatical devices for expressing progressive aspect: In Korean, it is expressed by the construction *-ko issta* ('main verb plus *ko* 'a conjunctive suffix'[2] plus the existential verb *issta*), and in Japanese, by *-te iru* (main verb plus *-te*, the verbal gerund marker, plus the existential verb *iru*).

Japanese *-te iru*, however, can also be used to express resultative aspect, while Korean uses a slightly different device (i. e., an intransitive V + *-a/-e* 'a combining form suffix'[3] plus *issta.*). Facts such as these provide evidence that the semantic or aspectual scope of particular grammatical forms is not identical in Korean and Japanese. As Shibatani (1994) points out, "differences like these may offer clearer insights on those aspects of [a] phenomenon that may not be directly observable in single-language studies (p. 42)."

In the mood section, H. Sohn's *Korean* is much more comprehensive than Hinds' *Japanese*. For example, H. Sohn lists eight expressions in the section "Degree of Certainty," compared to the two expressions listed in the same section in *Japanese*. Also one more Korean evidential expression *moyang i-ta* 'it seems' could be added to this list as it is similar to the expression *kes kath-ta*.[4]

It can be seen from just the few examples presented thus far that although many of the grammatical categories and functions of particular constructions are parallel and described in more or less the same manner for each language, what the author of each has chosen to highlight as significant seems to differ according to the individual author's perspectives.

In Chapter 3, Phonology, H. Sohn provides an elaborately detailed discussion of the phonological system in Korean. By virtue of the depth of the discussion and the range of topics covered, this section will be useful not only for students and scholars of the Korean language, but also for general specialists in phonology. Since the Korean phonological system is much more complex than that of Japanese, this section is far more comprehensive than the chapter in *Japanese.*

H. Sohn's treatment of ideophones in Chapter 4, "Ideophones and Interjections" is revealing and will be particularly helpful to non-native speakers who are unfamiliar with this type of sound symbolism. In fact, this section makes for fascinating reading for language specialists and non-specialists alike. As noted by H. Sohn, Korean is rich in this type of expression, having some 4,000 linguistic items which express some type of sound symbolism. These are categorized into three basic kinds: those which imitate sounds occurring in nature (e.g., *meng meng* 'bow wow'), those which express a physical quality of the external world (e.g., *ccintuk-ccintuk* 'gluey, sticky'), and those which express internal states or feelings (e.g., *maysuk-maysuk* 'nauseated'), although, according to H. Sohn, the last two tend to be grouped together, perhaps since they are not sounds imitating sounds but rather sounds expressing qualities of other senses or feelings. Examples of Japanese counterparts to this phenomenon would include expressions such as *hin hin* 'neigh of a horse' and *mukamuka* 'feeling nauseated.' The number of these expressions provided in *Japanese* is about one half the number in *Korean.*

This striking difference in the number of entries between the two books is also evident in the next section, "Interjections," with the Korean entries numbering approximately 140 in contrast with the 30 in *Japanese.* For the latter, the entire list is provided (pp. 522-526) alphabetically, from *aa* (exclamation used when something goes wrong) to *yey* (used for calling a child), the definitions of which are provided in Martin et al. (1967). Since this is a long and comprehensive list, a few of the entries could be considered as somewhat archaic in modern day usage, and others have a more restricted usage than noted by the Martin et al. definition. For example, *ye-po-si-p-si-o* is no longer used as the expression when answering the phone (i.e., 'hello'), having been replaced by *ye-po-sey-yo* and *eme*, which is not listed, rather than *ema*, is used to show one's surprise or fright. Also, this is used only by females, rather than 'usually by females' as noted in the parentheses next to the entry *ema* (p. 524). Since interjections can be social indexes, it would seem that a more up-to-date set of definitions might be helpful here.

Korean is a long-awaited comprehensive grammar book which treats all of the major aspects of Korean grammar in depth, from syntax and morphology, to phonology and sound symbolism, using perspectives of grammar as well as sociolinguistics to illustrate these constructions. H. Sohn has produced an excellent reference text which will prove useful to a large audience of language teachers, students, and linguists. It will aslo be delightful reading to the non-specialist whose interest in language in general may be still at the level of curiosity.

NOTES

[1] The entire *Questionnaire* originally appeared as *Lingua, vol. 42* (1977), no. 1.

[2] See Lukoff (1982).

[3] Also from Lukoff (1982)

[4] See Kawanishi (1991).

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Knowledge of Reflexives in a Second Language by Margaret Thomas. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1993. 234 pp.

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Generally speaking, everyone fully acquires a first language, and most people can learn another language, although in the latter case, the ultimate speed and level of success can vary dramatically from individual to individual. The impressiveness of first language acquisition is marked by its rapidity, uniformity, and lack of explicit tutoring. Generative linguistic theory, its more current version being known as universal grammar (UG), attributes this marvellous achievement to a biologically-based preprogramming in human beings. UG conceptualizes the knowledge of language as a "grammar." This core grammar is represented by principles and parameters, with principles to account for the constraints found in all human languages and parameters to account for the cross-linguistic variation among different languages.

SLA researchers using UG as a theoretical model ask such questions as: Does UG operate in L2 acquisition, and if so, what is the L2 grammar like? The book entitled *Knowledge of Reflexives in a Second Language* by Margaret Thomas (henceforth MT) is essentially a technical report of a series of experiments on the acquisition of reflexives by L2 learners. The book, underpinned by UG theory, is based on MT's (1991) doctoral study which addresses an important theoretical question in SLA concerning the issue of whether UG principles are accessible to adult L2 learners.

Why reflexives? What do they have to do with linguistic knowledge and therefore with UG principles and parameters? In other words, in what ways are reflexives useful in answering the question this study aims to address? MT devotes Chapter 1 to a discussion of the basics of language acquisition and linguistic theory. Chapters 2 and 3 are explications of a set of UG principles collectively known as "binding theory" which accounts for the referential properties of noun phrases (NPs) by structurally constraining the interpretation of anaphors (e.g., reflexives and reciprocals), pronominals (e.g., pronouns), and R-expressions (e.g., variables). Chapters 4 and 5 describe and discuss the experiments MT carried out to tap L2 learners' knowledge of the reflexives *self* in English and *zibun* in Japanese. The subjects in these experiments are Japanese and Spanish learners of English (the ESL experiment), and English and Chinese learners of Japanese (the JSL experiment). The discussion and conclusion are found in Chapters 6 and 7. MT concludes that the results support the hypothesis that L2 learners observe constraints on reflexives, in the manner

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defined by Manzini and Wexler (1987) in the parameterized Principle A.

I will illustrate in a simplified and brief manner, first, how binding principle A, as discussed by Manzini and Wexler (1987), constrains the interpretation of reflexives in language, and second, how different parametric values are assumed for the interpretation of reflexives in different languages such as those investigated in MT's study, namely, English, Japanese, Spanish, and Chinese.

Binding principle A states that anaphors must be bound. In sentence (1) below, "himself" must refer to John and not to an entity not mentioned in the sentence.

(1) John likes himself.

To be "bound" is to be co-indexed with a c-commanding antecedent. "C-command" refers to a particular structural dominance relationship between nodes in the tree configuration representing the structure of a sentence, and in (1), "John" is a "c-commanding antecedent" of the anaphor "himself." Also, an anaphor must have its antecedent within the same clause. In example (2), the antecedent of "herself" is "Susan" and not "Alice." Although both NPs c-command "herself," "Susan" is in the same clause that contains the anaphor.

(2) Alice thinks that Susan loves herself.[1]

The construct "c-command" is posited as a part of a speaker's innate knowledge of language

As linguistic theory has developed, the relationship between constituents known as "government" becomes crucial to binding. Manzini and Wexler's (1987) revised version of binding principle A reads: An anaphor is bound in its governing category by a proper antecedent. (p. 431) The significance of the revised version is the development of the idea that the binding principles are parameterized. The specific definitions of "governing category" and "proper antecedent" are determined by the parameters of a particular language. The governing category parameter states that a reflexive must be bound within the minimal category which contains the reflexive, its governor, and a c-commanding antecedent, and must have a subject (for English reflexives, for example), or an INFL (for Spanish reflexives), or a Tense, referential Tense, or root Tense (for Japanese and Chinese reflexives), since UG sanctions an array of parametric values that are instantiated differently in different languages.

Going back to sentence (2), note that only the closer NP, "Susan," can bind the reflexive "herself" in English. English and Spanish allow only a local antecedent. In contrast, the Japanese reflexive *zibun* allows either local or long distance binding. This means that in a Japanese translation of (2), either the closer NP "Susan" or the more distant NP "Alice" can be the antecedent of the reflexive. The Chinese reflexive *ziji* also allows either local or long distance binding.

The "proper antecedent" parameter specifies whether the antecedent of a reflexive must be a subject.[2] In English and Spanish, reflexives may be bound by a subject or a non-subject (e.g., an object). In Japanese and Chinese, only the subject may serve as an antecededent. English and Japanese instantiate different "proper antecedent" parametric specifications. Thus, we can understand why MT chose for her experiments the target reflexives in English and Japanese and the four groups of L1 speakers of English, Japanese, Spanish, and Chinese. This design will fill out the experimental paradigm with learners whose L1s have different parametric settings from those of the target languages.

Is UG accessible to adult L2 learners? MT answers the question by examining the learners' interpretations of reflexives in the L2. MT's three hypotheses are as follows:

Hypothesis A: UG is unavailable. L2 learners do not consult UG principles and parameters to constrain coreference relations between anaphors and antecedents. Instead, they may concern themselves with astructural considerations such as pragmatics or adopt strategies such as "minimal distance" to interpret anaphors in the L2.

Hypothesis B: UG is available as instantiated in L1. The interpretation of anaphors in the L2 is limited to the parameter settings of the L1. L2 learners will make mistakes if the parametric values of the L2 and L1 are different and will not make mistakes if they are the same.

Hypothesis C: UG is fully available. Coreference relationships are constrained by the parameters sanctioned by UG. Learners may employ the subset principle[3], or let the L1 mediate in some complex manner, while the learners re-set parameters as defined by UG.

In the ESL experiment (described in Chapter 4), the subjects are adult learners of English with either Japanese (n=70) or Spanish (n=62) as a native language, and the control group (n=21) is composed of native speakers of English. They were asked to complete a multiple-choice comprehension task to resolve anaphors in English. There were five types of test sentences, with English reflexives in different syntactic structures (three tokens of each type). These sentence types together weave an intricate checking mechanism for structural interpretations and minimal distance strategies (Hypothesis A), L1 parametric instantiation (Hypothesis B), and parameter re-setting (Hypothesis C).

A Type I sentence contains a complement clause, in which there are two candidate antecedents for the reflexive--a local NP and a long distance NP. Both are subject NPs, which c-command and precede the reflexive. (Japanese allows either local or long-distance binding; English and Spanish allow local binding only.)

A Type II sentence contains a relative clause. Of the two candidate antecedents, one is the subject of the matrix clause, and the other the subject of the relative clause. The reflexive appears in the matrix clause. Taken together, Types I and II test Hypothesis A for astructural interpretation and Hypotheses B and C for the definition of the governing category.

Type III sentences are simple clauses. The two candidate antecedents are the clausal subject and a non-subject NP. Type III investigates L2 learners' proper antecedent parameter settings. (Japanese allows only subject antecedents; Spanish allows subject or non-subject antecedents.)

Type IV sentences are simple sentences which investigate whether an NP with a lexical subject defines the governing category for a reflexive. The reflexive appears inside a "picture NP" with a lexical subject. One candidate antecedent is the lexical subject of the picture NP, and the other is the matrix subject. Both c-command and precede the reflexive. (The governing category parameter setting in both Japanese and Spanish sanction binding by either antecedent NP in Type IV, whereas English permits only an NP with a lexical subject.)

In Type V sentences, the reflexive appears inside a prepositional phrase which in turn is a complement of a direct object NP. One candidate antecedent is an indirect object which c-commands the reflexive. The other is the object of an additional PP complement of the direct object. (MT discusses the theoretical difficulties in this case of non-c-command (cf. pp. 79-80, 179-181)).

After a careful and meticulous analysis of the data, MT concludes that these data provide evidence for UG-sanctioned grammars of anaphora among L2 learners. Moreover, she points out that Hypothesis C is challenged in the case of Type IV sentences. The control group does not unanimously maintain the unmarked governing category parameter setting as predicted and learners' "clausal subject only" responses are not accounted for (cf. pp. 97-99). In Type V sentences, there are inadequacies in the definition of c-command, or the configurational analysis assumed (cf. p.99 for patterns of response.)

To address these remaining issues, MT undertakes a second study on the Japanese reflexive *zibun* (the JSL experiment). The JSL experiment (described in Chapter 5) parallels the ESL experiment. In the JSL experiment, the subjects are adult learners of Japanese with either English (n=34) or Chinese (n=8) as a native language. There is also a control group (n=10) of native speakers of Japanese. Subjects were asked to complete a multiple-choice comprehension task to interpret the reflexive *zibun*. There were three types of test sentences, Types VI, VII, and VIII, with four tokens in each Type.

Type VI is similar in structure to Type I. *Zibun* appears in non-subject position inside a finite subordinate clause. The two candidate antecedents, the long-distance matrix subject and the local subordinate clause subject, c-command *zibun*. English selects the unmarked governing category parameter setting of local binding; Japanese and Chinese permit either, but while Japanese native speakers prefer long-distance binding for *zibun* , Chinese native speakers prefer local binding for *ziji*.

Type VII, like Type III, investigates learners' setting of the proper antecedent parameter. *Zibun* appears as a genitive inside of a dative or an accusative NP in a simple clause. One candidate antecedent is either the topic NP or the subject NP; the other candidate is an accusative, dative, or oblique case

NP. English selects either a subject or a non-subject setting; Chinese selects the subject-only setting, which is also the preference of native Japanese speakers.

Type VIII investigates L2 learners' sensitivity to the requirement that antecedents c-command anaphors. A Type VIII sentence is a simple clause with a genitive determiner inside the subject NP. *Zibun* appears as a genitive determiner inside a dative or accusative NP. The head of the subject NP c-commands *zibun*.

MT concludes that the results of the JSL experiment do not contradict Hypothesis C of the ESL experiment. However, she points out that the results have generated questions which require further investigation. For example, what is the role of the L1 grammar in L2 parameter setting (cf. Hypothesis B)? English and Chinese speaking L2 learners differ in their interpretations of *zibun* in ways suggestive of L1 influence. In Type VI sentences, where *zibun* appears in tensed subordinate clauses, English speaking learners of low/mid proficiency level bind *zibun* locally; the advanced English-speaking learners either bind *zibun* locally or permit local or long-distance antecedents. Can it be assumed that the learners are re-setting parameters to approximate that of the L2? In Type VII, some English speakers allow either a subject or non-subject antecedent, but no Chinese speaker consistently allows non-subject antecedents to bind *zibun*, a fact arguably due to a similar grammar of the Chinese reflexive *ziji*.

Half the Chinese speaking learners permit only long-distance binding (which Hypothesis C does not predict) and the native speakers also prefer long distance binding in Type VI. It is plausible that preferences not constrained by UG-sanctioned parameters interact with formal constraints in the binding of *zibun*. Responses to Type VI present a challenge to Hypothesis C. The comprehension task records subjects' preferences, rather than their underlying grammars. Also, the experimental data do not always distinguish between preferences and parameter settings. This happens in both experiments. For example, the preferences for local binding for Type I sentences may reflect true UG constraints for some learners or a dispreference of long distance binding for others. While such a preference is plausible, under-reporting of every admissible interpretation of a reflexive can be induced by sentence types not exhaustively reflecting all possible coreference possibilities that the learners' grammars generate. For example, Type VI and Type VII sentences may exaggerate the incidence of responses not sanctioned by UG, and Type VIII sentences may understate the incidence of non-UG-sanctioned responses. MT points out that the subject pool in the JSL experiment is small and the subjects' proficiency is not defined systematically in every case. Thus, the data do not fully represent the possible range of L2 learners' coreference judgment.

Cross-linguistic studies in first or second language acquisition can do service to theory by supporting or refuting the claims the theory makes. MT's study, in addition to contributing to the body of understanding of the working of binding principle A in finite subordinate clauses, has made prudent statements on UG and at the same time poses a challenge to it. The book is not primarily a technical report. In the first three chapters, MT gives rich and lucid explications on language acquisition and linguistic theory vis-à-vis adult second language learning and UG (Chapter 1: Language acquisition and linguistic theory), the binding theory (Chapter 2: Constraints on the Interpretation of Anaphors) and research on anaphoric acquisition (Chapter 3: Acquisition of Constraints on Anaphors). The statistics are modest, not intimidating. There are appendices at the end of each chapter, and notes, references, and an index at the end of the book. It would be useful if the tables and appendices were also listed.

MT is admirably explicit in presenting theoretical basics, experimental intricacies and an interpretation of the data. I recommend the book especially to those advanced graduate students taking an interdisciplinary approach to the study of linguistics, who are attracted to linguistic theory but who are nonetheless put off by the language of formal linguistics. The readers will find MT's control of linguistics delightful.

NOTES

[1] Example (10) in MT Chapter 2

[2] The unmarked setting is "clausal subject only."

[3] The subset principle, as proposed in Berwick (1985), is a plausible principle of general learning which states that whenever a learning system is confronted with an option that would increase the class of objects that the system to be attained can deal with, the system will always make the most conservative guess to cover the data. A subset principle for language learning is proposed by Wexler and Manzini (1987) from which derive parameters with certain preset values dictated by universal principles of markedness. Such a parameter model of language learning sets out in advance all the possible grammars if they are in a subset/superset relation, and makes it possible for them to be innately ranked.

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English Grammar for Students of Japanese (The Study Guide for Those Learning Japanese) by Mutsuko Endo Hudson. Ann Arbor: The Olivia and Hill Press, 1994 vii + 204 pp.

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English Grammar for Students of Japanese provides a concise explanation of the key concepts and terminology of English and Japanese grammar. The title of this book may be somewhat misleading, since Hudson does not necessarily emphasize the grammar of English, but rather affords equal emphasis to the grammars of both English and Japanese. The description of English grammar and the contrastive presentation of the two grammar systems are intended to help students learning Japanese to understand its basic grammatical notions in light of the grammar of their own native language, which, the author assumes, facilitates the understanding of a foreign language grammar.

The grammar points are addressed in separate chapters in the following basic order: parts of speech (e.g., nouns, verbs), inflections, various sentence level phenomena (e.g., subject, topic), sentence type (e.g., affirmative vs. negative, declarative vs. interrogative), tense (e.g., present tense, past tense), voice (e.g., active, passive), and types of clauses (e.g., conditional clauses, relative clauses). Each chapter is headed by a question such as, "What is X?" or, "What is meant by Y?" In each chapter, first the particular term is defined in simple, non technical words. Then the author describes how that concept is expressed in English and how it is expressed in Japanese. In the description for the Japanese counterpart, the emphasis is on both similarities and differences in the two languages for that particular construction. Furthermore, Hudson draws special attention to areas which are likely to involve possible conceptual transfer from English to Japanese resulting in ungrammatical or unacceptable expressions, such as the overuse of personal pronouns in Japanese. These descriptions will answer the students' questions that may arise after classroom instruction, as well as raise learners' awareness of these types of errors.

This grammar book is unique in the sense that the author intends to first expose the students to the grammar of their native language as the basis for their acquisition of a foreign language grammar. This is an important approach that has not been considered by previous foreign language teaching theories and grammar books. It could be more effective to introduce new grammatical concepts in the learners' native language, rather than to go immediately to the foreign language grammar, since the explanations and examples will appeal to

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their native speaker intuition. Thus, this book will serve as a helpful guide for those who do not have knowledge of their native language grammar or basic grammatical terms, and therefore have difficulties understanding foreign language grammar.

This book is designed to be a supplementary guide to fill the gap between classroom grammar instruction and the students' understanding of it, enabling the students to study issues not made clear in the classroom or in other textbooks on their own. The user will notice the special consideration by the author in the transparency of the explanations; the explanations are all fully detailed and concrete, and nothing lacks definition. Most of the grammar terms in the text are followed by a reference to the page on which they are defined within the same book, so that when an unfamiliar term obstructs his/her understanding, the student can immediately consult that page Thus, students who have difficulties understanding grammar descriptions or those who have no experience in studying a foreign language will find the book very helpful.

One drawback is that since the book is aimed at the contrastive description of English and Japanese grammars, it fails to offer explanations for those grammatical notions in Japanese for which no equivalent counterpart exists in English. For example, the book does not address the alternation between object marker *o* and subject marker *ga* (e.g., *watashi wa CD* ***o*** *katta* 'I bought a CD' vs. *watashi wa CD* ***ga*** *hoshii* 'I want a CD,' *haha wa keeki* ***ga*** *suki da* 'My mother likes cakes,' *kare wa nihongo* ***ga*** *wakaru* 'He understands Japanese.') Explanation of evidential markers in Japanese is also missing. For example, there is no discussion of *-garu,* meaning 'to show signs of,' which is attached to most verbs of internal feelings when they occur with third person subjects, that is, when the internal state is not experienced by the speaker (e.g., watashi *wa kuruma ga hoshii* 'I want a car' vs. *otooto wa kuruma o hoshi****gatteiru*** 'My brother wants a car.'). Thus, teachers should keep in mind that this book is not a complete grammar of Japanese.

Also problematic is the quality of the exercises offered after each chapter. First, the purpose of the practice is inconsistent. Some are designed to test the user's understanding of Japanese grammar, and some are made to test English grammar. Secondly, many of them do not seem to be effective ways to confirm the students' understanding of the section or to aid their learning of the grammar. For example, some exercises require the students to follow the author's exact explanation about the grammar point in order to provide the correct answers; the students are forced to "think" the same way as the author did, than to think in their own ways to show comprehension. Also, there are exercises where the student is required to explain the grammar points in English, a task which is more oriented towards verbalizing rules of grammar rather than using those rules to communicate with others. If the audience is really assumed to be beginners in Japanese and not beginning learners of grammar, the real effect of these exercises is somewhat questionable. My suggestion to teachers is that their use of the exercises should be selective, depending on the level of the students and their reasons for learning Japanese.

The strength of this book is its clear-cut presentation of the similarities and differences between the two languages. This will not only help learners of Japanese but also help Japanese learners of English. Furthermore, the book may serve as a good introduction to those who intend to study grammar and pedagogy of both languages, since the contrastive description may motivate further research in linguistics, language teaching, and language acquisition. Endo Hudson has produced an interesting and unique grammar book which is well worth reading for various people with different purposes.

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Discourse Modality: Subjectivity, Emotion, and Voice in the Japanese Language by Senko Maynard. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1993. x + 315 pp.

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While it has been the mainstream approach in Western linguistics to provide a logical and rational analysis of propositions of language, as represented by Chomskyan linguists, some researchers have examined other aspects of language extending beyond propositional meanings, such as social interaction (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), language socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Clancy, 1986), subjectivity (Benveniste, 1971; Kuroda, 1973), and speech acts (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). Following this latter type of linguistic study, Maynard (1993) proposes the framework of her non-propositional-based "Discourse Modality" (hereafter DM) as a device for analyzing language. In this framework, Maynard views language as a means of communicating the speaker's psychological position towards the proposition in discourse and interaction; this is characterized as "Discourse Modality." In *Discourse Modality*, this new framework is introduced in Chapters 1 and 2, and the next five chapters are dedicated to the examination of five types of linguistic devices in Japanese which are considered by Maynard to function mainly as reflections of the speaker's various personal voices. Throughout the book, Maynard claims that her framework, based on an interactive and discourse contextual analysis, can shed new light on previously puzzling language phenomena.

Chapter 1 discusses the three "modal" characteristics of language: interactionality (i.e., language as an activity, namely socialization, between the speaker and the interlocutor), subjectivity (i.e., language as an expression of the speaker's inner self), and textuality (i.e., language as a cohesive unit of discourse). Among these three characteristics, subjectivity is treated by Maynard as only existing in relation to interactionality. However, in my opinion, a few subjective expressions, such as interjections, do not seem to necessarily require any interaction with an interlocutor. Adopting the view of language as "interaction-based, subjectivity-conscious and textuality-bound," Maynard claims to uncover "non-propositional information which includes the expressions of subjectivity, emotion and voice of the speaking self" (p. 21). However, she does not provide a clear definition of the latter three elements, which also appear in the book's sub-title.

Chapter 2 provides a brief overview of several historical studies on modality and introduces the framework of DM. Recognizing the previous studies on modality both in the West (Benveniste, 1971; Lyons, 1981) and in Japan (Suzuki, 1979, 1824; Tokieda, 1941) and additionally integrating speech acts and other interactive aspects of language, Maynard defines DM as "the speaker's subjective emotional, mental or psychological attitude toward the message content, the speech act itself or toward his or her interlocutor in discourse" (p. 38). In this framework, DM is conveyed by DM indicators which take specific linguistic forms at various levels from local (i.e., lexical items) to broad (i.e., discourse style), but which primarily express the speaker's various attitudes. According to Maynard, DM indicators achieve a maximum of four aspects (i.e., information qualification, speech action declaration and qualification, participatory control, and interactional appeal) and create a "modal" context in the scene, summarized as Modal Contextualization effects.

The four aspects of DM discussed above are well categorized and contain specific sub-categories which cover a wide range of speech phenomena (e.g., perspective and epistemology under *information qualification*, speaker turns under *participatory control*, and sociolinguistic style under *interactional appeal*). However, one question arises: How would aspects such as the speaker's evaluation, volition, control, negativity, and expectation, which are not in any of the four categories, be handled? Is it possible to interpret the four categories so loosely that any factor that is not found in the existing taxonomy could fit into it? Secondly, while "personal emotion" is treated under interactional appeal, subjective expressions are not necessarily interactive, as mentioned earlier; therefore, this sub-categorization seems unable to capture the overlapping nature of these characteristics.

Chapter 3 provides an analysis of two connectives, *dakara* 'so, therefore' and *datte* 'but, because.' According to Maynard, while the direction of the information flow is forward in *dakara* and backward in *datte*, these two connectives are related in propositional meaning; they have a causal relationship with or provide additional information about the previous sentences or discourse. However, their "modal" functions are quite different. *Dakara* generally provides explanatory information in a rather neutral manner and is occasionally used to signal the end of the speaker's turn or may include a reluctant tone with a repeated request for the information. *Datte*, on the other hand, is used mainly for self-justification, and occurs in an oppositional or challenging situation and, therefore, results in showing the speaker's negative attitudes. Although Maynard treats *dakara* and *datte* in the very same fashion, both as DM indicators, it seems inappropriate to claim that the primary function of *dakara* is to express the speaker's personal voice (i.e., attitudes) because of its strong neutral propositional meaning.

Chapter 4 illustrates two adverbs *yahari/yappari* 'as expected, at any rate' and *doose* 'anyway, after all,' both of which have been traditionally treated differently from manner adverbs. *Yahari/yappari* expresses the speaker's realized expectations, regardless of their clear mention in prior text or having been built from social knowledge or personal belief. Thus, *yahari/yappari* not only conveys a high degree of the speaker's confidence in the realized assumptions, but also reveals a logical cohesiveness in the process of transferring an assumption into a realization. However, the assumption that *yahari/yappari* "functions as a conversation filler and planner...and as a dispreference marker" and "ultimately encourages personal rapport based on the shared knowledge" (p. 139) seems dubious because *yahari/yappari* itself implies little interactional quality. According to Maynard's analysis, *doose* functions similarly to *yahari/yappari* in reflecting the speaker's epistemological positioning (i.e., confidence in the occurrence of an event), but *doose* also implies the speaker's fatalistic speculation. The three personal attitudes that Maynard claims that *doose* conveys are surrendering unto fate, confirming fate, and facing fate bravely, the last of which does not seem compatible, due to the strongly resigned implication of a predetermined event entailed by *doose*.

The following chapter discusses the manipulation of two verb-ending forms, *da* or the "abrupt" form in Maynard's terms (often called "informal") and the *desu/masu*, or "formal" form. Focusing on data which contain style mixture, Maynard successfully contrasts each function and provides an in-depth explanation of the motivation for the manipulation of the two styles. According to Maynard, by adopting the *da* style, the speaker marks his/her internal perspective and involvement in a narrative, and, therefore, the *da* ending expresses an informal, casual tone, resulting in the expression of feelings of closeness with the interlocutor as well as belongingness in a group. In contrast, the *desu/masu* form is explained as being used in high awareness situations, such as being conscious of the interlocutor. Thus, although the following is not mentioned in the book, it is assumed that the application of the *desu/masu* style suggests a distance between the speaker and the interlocutor, and, as a natural result, politeness is produced. This chapter contains an excellent analysis of the two dominant forms in verb morphology because the pragmatic and contextual based analysis succeeds in providing a motivation for the traditional dichotomy of "informal" *da* versus "formal" *desu/masu*.

Chapter 6 is another enlightening chapter. Two interactional particles from a group that many scholars have attempted to explain, namely *ne* and *yo*, are discussed in this chapter. Maynard basically claims that *ne* is interaction-focused, while *yo* is information-focused. In her analysis, *ne* primarily functions to encourage the interlocutor's response as well as to solicit confirmation and emotional support, while defocusing the information. Conversely, *yo* fundamentally focuses on information which is requested, while, in so doing, the speaker also interacts with the interlocutor. Maynard claims that the so-called "interactional" particles contain different degrees of interactionality, that is, depending on the degree of interactionality that each particle contains, the main function of a particle may be something other than interactionality, such as information focus in the case of *yo*. Because Maynard's framework allows us to examine a wide range of aspects of non-propositional linguistic phenomena, instead of focusing on one particular aspect, Maynard successfully contrasts the fundamental functions of different linguistic devices (i.e., *ne* and *yo*) traditionally included in the same category (i.e., interactional particles).

Chapter 7 examines the last DM indicator, *to yuu* '...called X, ...that says X,' a connector of clauses and nouns in complex nominal phrases. While many linguists have discussed when *to yuu* must or cannot occur, Maynard only deals with the cases in which the use of *to yuu* is optional. She claims that, when the speaker intentionally inserts *to yuu* in a nominal clause, the proposition made in the clause resembles directly quoted discourse, thereby demonstrating the vivid effect of "saying" in addition to "describing" the proposition. Furthermore, due to the vividly reflected personal voice, *to yuu* tends to focus on and foreground the proposition. Maynard's findings which are based on a pragmatic and contextual analysis, namely, the choice of *to yuu* as indicating the speaker's manipulation of a narrative voice, seem to overcome many controversial explanations provided by previous studies on *to yuu* (e.g., Terakura, 1980; Teramura, 1981) which were limited to characterizing and/or categorizing the types of clauses and nouns of a nominal phrase.

In Chapter 8, the concluding chapter, Maynard (1993) once again confirms her position of adopting "an emotion- and interaction-based view of language" (p. 276). Defining "voice" as "expressing personal attitude and feeling" and "narrative voice" (p. 260), she concludes that "language, at least some part of its property, serves the primary purpose of expressing subjectivity and emotion" (p. 257), although the connection among the three crucial elements, subjectivity, emotion, and voice, remains unclear. Maynard further investigates cognitive, psychological and social factors (e.g., the notion of *amae* 'psychological and emotional dependence' and the dichotomy of *uchi* 'insider, in-group' and *soto* 'outsider, out-group') which are reflected as sources of emotionality and interactionality in language use. Moreover, suggesting a continuum of "personalization of discourse" with the varying degree of DM that each utterance expresses (i.e., the more DM is expressed, the more personalized the utterance becomes), Maynard claims that "the Japanese language, equipped with a variety of DM indicators, ranks high among personalization-oriented languages" (p. 266). Finally, pointing out the difficulty of cross-culturally transmitting the DM characteristics of a language, she emphasizes the necessity of examining a language from a "modality"-centered view for a better cross-cultural communication.

The biggest contribution of *Discourse Modality* lies in Maynard's approach to language, namely integrating various aspects of language (e.g., the speaker's subjectivity, interaction between the speaker and the interlocutor, and speech acts) into one framework, Discourse Modality. An advantage of this approach, best exemplified in Chapters 5 and 6, is that it can not only categorize or contrast different linguistic devices of a similar or identical category, but can also correctly capture the fundamental function of each device. That is, instead of explaining different devices from only one aspect of language and claiming that a device contains higher degree of a certain element than another, DM can fully characterize each phenomenon with various aspects of language use due to the multi-dimensional characteristics of the framework. It should be noted that when contrasting more than one linguistic phenomenon in this framework, the phenomena should contain a similar degree of DM. For example, if one device expresses a strong propositional meaning, while the primary function of the other is non-propositional, as seen in Chapter 3, the framework cannot provide a fair contrast or characterization. Another advantage of the DM framework is that this approach encourages a linguist to re-examine linguistic phenomena by adopting a wider perspective and to be aware of the connection among different aspects of DM expressed by the device, as is successfully done in Chapter 7.

While I generally recognize Maynard's study as suggesting an enlightening approach to language, I would like to address an issue regarding her claim about Japanese being a highly personalized language. This claim needs to be treated with skepticism because the grammatical potential to convey DM does not necessarily mean that the language itself is highly personalized; as Maynard recognizes, some other linguistic and extra-linguistic devices, such as tones and intonation or even word order, can also instill a personalized quality into speech. It is possible to say that Japanese is highly personalized in terms of *grammatical encoding*, but without considering various other factors expressing DM, it seems inappropriate to claim that Japanese is a highly personalized language. In fact, different languages use different devices to personalize speech, and thus, it seems almost impossible to claim by comparing only grammatical devices that one language is higher in "personalization of discourse" than another.

Although there are still some areas that need further investigation and clarification, this new approach to language, *Discourse Modality*, offers an in-depth analysis of the linguistic devices which are dealt with in the book and has the potential to uncover many other controversial and often overlooked phenomena in language use.

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Subjectivity in Grammar and Discourse by Shoichi Iwasaki. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1993. 151 pp.

Reviewed by Ryoko Suzuki
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This book starts out with the definition of subjectivity, which has been mentioned but not fully treated in the field of linguistics. Shoichi Iwasaki's (henceforth SI) book is one of the first attempts to suggest a concrete linguistic approach to this notion.

Subjectivity has been considered difficult to define for linguistic investigation, even though some linguists (e.g., Langacker, 1985; Lyons, 1977) point out the importance of subjectivity to languages in various ways. Japanese happens to be one of the languages which reflects the speaker's subjectivity particularly in morphology and grammar. SI lays out a very original approach to the notion of subjectivity in this book, which is, in essence, a pragmatic approach to the attributes and experience of the real speaker which affect the way clauses are shaped. The book is divided into five chapters, with an appendix containing a sample glossed narrative transcript and transcription conventions.

In Chapter 1, SI discusses in depth three types of speaker's subjectivity, the basic notion of this book: (a) the speaker as the center of spatial deictic phenomena (e.g., *kuru* 'come,' *kureru* 'give'); (b) the speaker as the center of evaluation of event and attitude (e.g., the adversative passive *-(r)are*, expression of regret, *te shimau*); and (c) the speaker as the center of epistemological perspective (e.g., the mental process verb *omou* 'think' being appropriate for expressing the speaker's own perspective).

Chapter 2 further develops type (c), the speaker's epistemological perspective, which is the main focus of the rest of the book. SI describes three subtypes of a speaker's epistemological perspective which affect grammar and the use of language: (1) S-perspective, when the speaker describes his/her own experience, (2) O-perspective, when s/he describes other sentient beings' experiences, and (3) Zero-perspective, when no sentient being's experience is involved in the description. SI argues that Japanese grammar reflects this three-way distinction in the area of transitivity. The speaker taking an S-perspective, where the speaker is the more conscious instigator of an action than in other perspectives, has more direct access to the information for a situation described in a sentence. SI shows that predicates with higher transitive features are associated with greater information accessibility, in other words, with S-perspective, and predicates with lower transitive features, which represent less information accessibility, are associated with O-perspective or Zero-perspective.

Chapter 3 deals with the hypothesis of information accessibility and how it manifests itself in actual discourse. SI analyzes declarative sentences of first person narratives because the perspective distinction between the speaker and other participants as outlined in the previous chapter is more straightforward than in third person narratives. SI explains the distributional patterns of tense forms: first person subjects are more frequently associated with past tense forms, whereas third person and inanimate subjects are more frequently associated with nonpast tense forms. SI's theory of the speaker's perspective nicely accounts for this variation; first person subjects, which usually represent S-perspective, are associated with past tense forms because of their higher information accessibility.

Chapter 4 goes beyond verb morphology and considers an intra-clausal phenomenon, switch reference, realized in clause-chains in Japanese. SI takes two clause-chaining morphemes, *-te* and *-tara* and shows how the notion of perspective influences the selection of these clause-chaining forms. *-Tara* occurs when higher information accessibility changes to lower information accessibility (and this often marks the shift from S- to O- perspective); *-Te* is used when there is no change in the degree of information accessibility. Iwasaki claims that in order to account for the Japanese switch reference system, the importance of S-perspective (or first person perspective) must be considered—a provoking contribution to earlier discussions on switch reference, which generally stress the primacy of the third person (cf. Haiman & Munro, 1983).

Chapter 5 extends the discussion on perspective phenomena to other languages. This chapter can be regarded as a re-interpretation of well-known concepts in functional linguistics using the notion of perspective principles. Here, SI once again emphasizes the importance of including the notion of subjectivity in linguistic investigation. He discusses the phenomena known as split ergativity and transitivity in terms of perspective principles. He further extends the theoretical implications of his study to language universals and typology, and points out the relevance of the notion of an animacy hierarchy to this perspective distinction.

As a whole, this study is intriguing and provocative in various ways. In terms of methodology, defining the notion of subjectivity is itself a challenging task, and SI's three-way division of speaker subjectivity gives a concrete foundation for the rest of the study. However, one can also ask: "Why three? Are there always three? If not, why these three then?" In other words, the cross-linguistic applicability of his three-way division of subjectivity is an interesting question we must pursue in the future. In languages which manifest less morphosyntactic realization of subjectivity, SI's three-way divisions may not apply at all.

The fact that subjectivity is concretely expressed in Japanese morphosyntax makes us wonder whether the role of subjectivity in Japanese grammar is potentially more significant than in other languages like English where subjectivity is less morphologically salient. In the last three decades, some schools of linguistics seem to have placed an extreme emphasis on the notion of "proposition" in English and other Indo-European languages. SI's work is a unique contribution to linguistic study in that it suggests the expansion of the notion of grammar to include subjectivity, since, as SI has shown, it is impossible to separate propositional and pragmatic elements in actual language use, at least in languages like Japanese.

SI's work provides us with a tool for cross-linguistic research on speaker's subjectivity and the relationship between subjectivity and grammar in language. Functional linguists, who ascribe to the concepts such as "tendency" of a particular linguistic phenomenon and the "continuous" nature that natural discourse data exhibit, should find SI's methodology concrete and convincing at least in two aspects. First, SI limits the scope of his analysis to the speaker's epistemological perspective, using declarative sentences from first person narrative data. SI has chosen the type of genre which shows the perspective shift most straightforwardly, and I consider such an approach to be an effective starting point. However, the applicability of this approach to different types of genres (e.g., conversation, lecture) must also be investigated as a next step.

Second, SI combines a continuum and discreteness in developing his theory of perspective, which leads him to present convincing quantitative results as well. The Information Accessibility Hypothesis is of a scalar nature (it is discussed in terms of "more" and "less" in Chapter 2). The three perspectives (S-, O-, and Zero-) are suggested as the three points on the scale. The actual linguistic forms (i.e., first person, third person, and inanimate subjects) are then connected to each point on the perspective, which enables SI to measure the realization of subjectivity in natural discourse. In other words, SI's theory outlined in Chapter 2 is carefully constructed and his work is a precise model which shows that a notion like "subjectivity" can be concretely measured and presented.

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An Introduction to Japanese Grammar and Communication Strategies by Senko K. Maynard. Tokyo: The Japan Times, 1990. pp. xxiii + 502.

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An Introduction to Japanese Grammar and Communication Strategies is written for an audience approaching the Japanese language from the perspective of a native speaker of English. It provides a comprehensive explanation of Japanese grammar and its functions in dynamic communicative situations based on actual data, both spoken and written. Therefore, the book is mainly intended for learners at the intermediate and advanced levels. It is also a useful resource for teachers of Japanese as a foreign language as well as for students of linguistics to reinforce or improve their understanding of the more subtle features of the language in communicative contexts.

The text consists of three parts. In Part One, Maynard categorizes and summarizes the ten basic characteristics of Japanese grammar (i.e., verb final typology; *-i* type adjectives; topic-comment prominence; the preference for not verbalizing the obvious; speech levels and styles, including the formal/informal distinctions and honorifics; modifiers; postpositional particles; verb/adjective conjugation; numbers and counters; and the non-agent orientation.1) This section also provides information on certain technical aspects of the book, such as the system that the author uses to romanize Japanese (e.g., how long and short vowels are represented in roman letters), an explanation as to the arrangement of the main text (Part Two), and a list of abbreviations used for the grammatical explanations.

Part Two, the main text, presents grammatical explanations and communication strategies under 130 subtitles, called "Entries." These entries represent mixed categories– some are traditional grammatical headings such as particles, word order, and conjunctions, and others are characterized according to particular functional criteria such as "Appealing to the Listener--Interactional Particles," "Action-accompanying Expressions–When Giving and Receiving Gifts," and "Managing Conversation-Repair for Trouble Spots." The main focus of each entry, "target expressions," provides either a grammatical perspective or a "strategic" (i.e., communicative) perspective, depending upon the type of construction under investigation. Maynard gives equal importance to both the grammatical as well as the communicative functions of these Japanese constructions. For example, Maynard presents such "target expressions" as *hai, un, naruhodo* (i.e., 'yeah,' 'uh-huh,' and 'I see,' respectively) and *maa* and *ano..*

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(both serving as a type of hesitation marker similar to 'well') under an independent entry, in which she provides not only "strategic explanations" but additional examples and further practice. In traditional textbooks and reference grammars, the above expressions are usually introduced only in vocabulary lists and/or commented on very briefly with the stronger focus of attention tending to be aimed at the more grammatically relevant elements. In contrast, Maynard believes that both grammatical structures and communication strategies "are necessary to realize various communicative functions " of Japanese (p. 2).

Part Three consists of three sample texts of two different types: casual conversation among college students and a short story (i.e., two excerpts from the conversational data and one short story). The sample texts from the actual spoken discourse are explicated in relation to the relevant entries in Part Two. In addition to vocabulary lists and English translations of these interactions, Maynard has appended a substantial quantity of information to each sample text that is useful for its interpretation, such as the grammatical and/or interactional function(s) of almost every part of speech. Each item of information in this appendix corresponds to an underlined part of the sample text and includes the relevant entry number(s) from Part Two. In this way the reader is able to learn how the expressions s/he has just studied in Part Two are used in actual interactive contexts.

The most distinguishing feature of this book is the tightly knit structure of the entire text. The author first presents a summary of the grammatical features of the language according to the ten characteristics described in Part One. The presentation order of the entries of Part Two generally follows the established one for the ten characteristics in Part One, with each item systematically building upon the preceding item(s). This can play a crucial role in helping the reader develop an overall understanding of the structure of the language. The author seems to attach the greatest importance to three out of the ten basic characteristics, that is, "topic-comment prominence," the preference for "not verbalizing the obvious," and the grammatical quality of "non-agent orientation." These three concepts are discussed from different angles under the different entries of Part Two. For example, the topic marker *wa* first appears in the target expression of Entry 4, *Kyoo wa atatakai-desu nee* 'It's warm today, isn't it?' Its literal translation with the original word order would be 'Today *wa* (topic marker) warm, isn't it? The reader learns at this stage that the topic is generally located at the beginning of the clause in Japanese. At this stage, Maynard does not attempt a full fledged explanation of the topic-comment structure, and simply mentions that *kyoo* (the topic) is "something that is talked about." Instead, she carefully introduces relevant grammatical structures in the following sentences through Entry 14 to build up the reader's capacity to better understand the structure. In entries 15 and 16, she describes in detail the topic-comment structure and the topic marker *wa* making a clear distinction with the subject marker *ga*. Thus the entire text conveys the author's message in a logical and easy to understand framework how various phenomena are conceptualized in the

Japanese language. The reader will gradually gain insight into the thinking of Japanese speakers by studying the text from the first page to the last. In this sense, the book is a rich resource not only for learners and teachers of the language but also for those who are interested in Japanese linguistics and sociolinguistics

The book also has many useful properties as a reference text. It is accessible to a wide range of readers. The author provides the Japanese characters (*kanji, hiragana,* and *katakana*) in addition to the romanization in each target sentence and example. This method can help both native speakers of English and Japanese. For the native speakers of Japanese, having these target sentences appear in the standard Japanese writing system is an advantage since this helps to quickly recognize certain expressions and thereby to avoid the frustration and difficulty in leafing through the sample texts in search of the particular expression being discussed. In her explanation of grammatical points, Maynard often instructs the reader to refer to other relevant entries (providing the related entry numbers), so that a grammatical item can be studied from more than one point of view. She also provides useful advice for both learners and teachers in the sections labeled "additional information" and "warning," which appear under each entry. For example, the "warning" under the entry entitled "Expressing Desire" instructs the reader that the Japanese question formed with the desiderative ending [*-tai*] does not connote an invitational meaning in the same sense that its English counterpart *do you want to* or *don't you want to* might imply an informal invitation. This kind of information is very helpful for native speakers of English to improve their communication skills in Japanese and to avoid misunderstandings.

Entries under 'functional and conceptual notions' in Part Two seem to reinforce the comprehensiveness of the book. Among these notions, however, there are some that this reviewer felt would be better supported by further explanation or a "warning" by the author. For example, the author explains in the entry for "Compliments and Compliment Responses' (pp. 313-315) that it is best not to accept a compliment unconditionally in the company of those to whom the speaker must show modesty and reserve. Maynard writes that a simple 'thank you' response to a compliment is incorrect and actually 'spoils' the sentiment of the person giving the praise. According to Maynard, instead of 'thank you,' something in the order of *iie, soo de mo nai n desu* 'no, not really' or *maa maa desu* 'it's only so so' would be the recommended response to a compliment. While I think this is indeed accurate, there are other factors by which a learner or novice language speaker could also 'spoil' the situation in spite of correctly using the recommended verbal responses–these factors would include such supra-segmental and non-linguistic behaviors as inappropriate intonation, poorly timed pauses, and body language. The same might be said of other entries such as "Responding to Questions" (p. 326) and "The meaning of Silence" (p. 398). The information provided under these headings includes very important aspects that learners of Japanese must come to know, but at the same time they must also be aware of the fact that an unskillful demonstration of some of these otherwise 'correct' verbal responses could lead the novice speaker into awkward situations. It might be helpful if the author reiterated under these particular entries her general qualification as stated initially in Part One that "learning through this book is only one part of a large project" (p. 3).

I believe that this book has a great deal to offer and should be a valuable resource for teachers and students of Japanese, as well as for students of linguistics. As the author acknowledges in the preface, she "stand[s] on the shoulders of many others who [have come] before [her]" in having contributed to Japanese linguistics and language studies (p. vi). Maynard credits her predecessors for having established the foundations for this book, however, she goes well beyond this foundation. Maynard's book proves its originality with its comprehensiveness and its in-depth description of grammatical structures.

NOTES

[1] By non-agent orientation, Maynard is referring to the fact that in Japanese, the subject or agent is not specified as prominently as it is in English because of the Japanese tendency "to view and describe the world as a natural state or a change brought about by some force" (p. 6).

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